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Between the Desert and the Deep

The Lived Experience of the Funerary Landscape of the Ancient Maghreb (4^{th} – 1^{st} millennium BCE)

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Abstract

This thesis focusses on the underlying traditions, inspirations, and influences that led to the creation of the so-called Numidian elite funerary architecture of the 4th to 1st centuries BCE in the ancient Maghreb. Using the nine most-studied structures as a point of departure, the argument will focus on how these tombs and related monuments fit into their African and Mediterranean contexts and the impact this had on self- and social identity in North Africa. This will offer an insight into the indigenous communities and their society before and during this period as reflected in, and projected through, their funerary traditions. This includes analysing the pre-existing northern African burial traditions from the 4th millennium BCE onwards and their impact on the development of megalithic funerary practices over the millennia. By focusing on the built environment, landscape, and the human experience of death and burial, this study explores not only the physical reality of mortuary practices in the prehistoric Maghreb but also the lasting ritual traditions that influenced the later development of monumental construction during the Hellenistic period and beyond. This analysis is conducted through the theoretical frameworks of landscape and sense archaeology, globalization theory, and creolization theory to create a more balanced comprehension of the complex dynamics of the increasingly inter-regional and diverse context of the ancient Maghreb.

Lay summary

This thesis centres on the funerary structures associated with the indigenous kingdoms of ancient North Africa and how foreign influences and local reactions to them affected the way communities buried and commemorated their dead in this region. Using the archaeological evidence of the 4th to 1st millennium BCE, this study looks at the wider context of ritual behaviour and how this was reflected in architecture. This analysis focuses on the extent to which ancient African and Mediterranean practices impacted on the design and construction of tombs in the ancient Maghreb. By using modern theories linked to the expansion of wide networks connecting regions through trade and migration, this thesis highlights how ancient communities interacted with each other without losing their sense of identity. Instead, these communities engaged with new influences as well as older traditions to create new forms of funerary architectural expression unique to this region and its people.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

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Abbreviations

CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

ILA Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie

Between the Desert and the Deep: The Lived Experience of the Funerary Landscape of the Ancient Maghreb (4th – 1st millennium BCE)

i. Introduction

This thesis centres on the balance of cultural continuity and pragmatic negotiation in the context of increased contact and exchange along global networks of interaction as projected in the funerary architecture of ancient indigenous North Africa. From the 4th century BCE, the elite Imazighen of the ancient Maghreb participated in an extended period of cultural negotiation, actively engaging with both deep-rooted African traditions and incoming Mediterranean influences through localised reactions. This engagement with these influences generated a new form of socio-political expression which manifested prominently in their megalithic funerary architecture. The extent and significance of this development can be analysed and understood through the theoretical frameworks of ritual, globalization, and creolization. By identifying the motivations and stimuli behind the funerary architecture of the indigenous communities of the ancient Maghreb, it will be possible to better understand the inhabitants of this land who had a significant and lasting impact on the development on what would become Roman North Africa.

By analysing the archaeological remains of the burial practices of communities, it is possible to determine the elements most important to a society, be they a reflection of reality or aspirational. This current thesis centres on the underlying traditions, inspirations, and influences that led to the creation of the so-called Numidian elite funerary architecture of the 4th to 1st centuries BCE. Using the nine most-studied structures as a point of departure, the argument will focus on how these tombs and related monuments fit into their African and Mediterranean contexts and the impact this had on social identity in ancient North Africa. This will offer an insight into the indigenous communities and their society before and during this period as reflected and projected through their funerary traditions. By focusing on the built environment

and the human experience of death and burial, this study will explore not only the physical manifestation of what it meant to be involved in the mortuary practices in the pre-Roman Maghreb, but also the lasting ritual traditions that influenced the later development of more monumental construction. This study will not be a quantitative nor a complete survey of the funerary archaeology of this region, as this work would be well beyond the scope of this project, as well as leading to more questions than answers. Camps' 1961 work on this remains a case in point, where indigenous funerary archaeology has been gathered, catalogued, and classified, an important and influential endeavour, but still raises questions as to what this all meant for the Mediterranean-African context at this time. Instead, this study will turn to more recent models and methods for analysing the social implications of funerary remains, with exemplary case studies informing this approach. This work will build on the more recent attempts to answer these questions, most notably those of Stone and Stirling, Quinn, and Kuttner, but will delve further still.[1] Focussing on the important elements of ritual engagement and the human experience of these ancient constructions in their wider setting, as well as applying the modern approaches of experiential archaeology, globalization, and creolization, this study will compliment and contribute to the progress already made in the more structural analysis of these tombs, reaching a level of insight not yet achieved, and adding a new dynamic to the study of the pre-Roman Maghrebi funerary remains and the communities that created and used them.

i.i. The wider context

Suitably memorializing the dead has always been an important part of human cultural articulation. As some of the most significant archaeology associated with communities from the distant past, funerary remains are often the only means we have to understand these societies. From the pyramids of Giza to the monumental mounds of Newgrange, modern perceptions of, and even interests in, ancient civilizations are

[1] Stone and Stirling (2007); Quinn (2013); Kuttner (2013).

often centred on their funerary material culture. Furthermore, the association of appropriate place and personhood in burials is integral to the human experience of death. Even today, perceptions of what is right and wrong when it comes to the interment or final rites of an individual are still inherently, and at times ardently, projected and protected. From arguments against the introduction of bright clothing at funerals to preserve the sombreness of the ceremonies, to elaborate tombstone designs expressing the position and life of an individual, communities have continued to promote the importance of what they deem correct and appropriate forms of burial.[2] Recent cases of eye-catching elaboration, including graves with stone reproductions of a living room suite and a DJ system in South Africa, a bright blue and yellow grave site in Italy, a brand new BMW car used as a coffin in Nigeria, and the famous and surreal commemorative coffins of Ghana, all call into question the limits and restraint that should be displayed in funerary practices.[3] In Australia and the United Kingdom it has been suggested that renting or reusing existing graves over a certain age would conserve space, but this faces considerable backlash from communities.[4] The individual associated with the grave is also seen as eternally represented and removing this connection has been met with criticism.[5] The underlying issue here is the expectation of an eternal and unhindered memorial where the grave is expected to look a certain way and have certain information openly displayed. Interference, especially from outside the family unit even if in the interest of public safety, is deemed unacceptable as it contravenes these expectations.

While there are a myriad of cases of individualism and self-expression creating unique graves, these are often met with scepticism and criticism stemming from what is seen as the expected way of burying and memorialising the dead. While the range within

[2] Brazier (2018) argues that dark clothes offer a "license to be lachrymose".
[3] Tshisalive (2017); Seales (2017); Ayoola (2018); Abreu and Hedler (2018).
[4] Power (2018); Carrington (2016); Save Southwark Woods (2016).
[5] The work of Plymouth's city council in England to mark unsafe graves with yellow warning labels obscuring the name of the interred led to community-wide objection, BBC (2018).

which this can occur is broad, those expressions that fall outside this range are immediately noticed and most often deemed insensitive, not only for the deceased but for the practice of burial and memorial in general. The defence of this expectation is often rooted in past practices, with the established way of doing things used to justify their continuation. The 'right' and 'wrong' way of funerary practices remains sensitive and is often one of the few customs in a culture to undergo very little change over a long period of time. Diversions from the norm frequently result in controversy as emphasised by the headline-grabbing stories above. When it comes to our final and lasting memorial, the need to belong is seen as more important than the desire for individualism. This thesis therefore stems from this innate human social need to fit into a pre-established and accepted framework of expression, in life as well as in death.

i.ii. Geographic focus

As the point of departure for this study is so-called Numidian royal architecture, the area under investigation comprises primarily what is considered the wider domain of this confederation: the Maghreb, namely western Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. Cyrenaica in eastern Libya is traditionally viewed as a separate historical and cultural region and will not be treated as part of the focus of this current study.[6] While examples of funerary architecture located outside the prescribed region will also be explored, their connection to the core data will be made clear. The Maghreb is the predominant region of the ancient Berber or Amazigh civilization, which, although spread across a vast area and complex in its make-up, is to a degree culturally mutually intelligible. Although showing signs of localised variation and unique expressions, there is an underlying cultural homogeneity binding these far-flung communities together. Sharing traits of semi-nomadic pastoralism, a large proportion of these ancient communities responded to their shared environments and pressures in relatively similar ways, as they were dependent on the same resources and economic factors,

[6] This separation is supported and justified by Shaw (2003), 98-99.

including access to water and pasturage for their animals and routes for transhumance and trade. As will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 3, these communities, although largely independent in the prehistoric period, would have relied heavily on each other periodically for trade, politics, and social requirements such as marriage and children. Therefore, these communities would have been in communication with each other as required for continued survival and prosperity. Due to the relatively outdated nature of the term Berber, the designation Amazigh (pl. Imazighen) will be used instead throughout this study, unless directly quoting from a source. North Africa will also be used interchangeably with the Maghreb to refer to the geographic location of this study. Northern Africa will be used when referring to the wider setting of the northern half of the African continent, including the Sahara but excluding Egypt which is traditionally viewed as a separate geographic entity. All major locations and sites will be presented in maps in the appendix at the end, where, following accepted conventions, some sites will retain their ancient name (Cirta as opposed to Constantine) while others will be referred to by their modern name (Chemtou as opposed to Simitthus). This is done in order to avoid confusion and remain in line with other scholars and publications.

i.iii. Chronology

As the indigenous inhabitants of the Maghreb have retained many of their pre-existing ancient traditions, the *longue durée* being a central theme for this thesis, this study will focus on the 4th to later 1st millennium BCE. This roughly equates to the Late Pastoral period of northern Africa from the development of megalithic architecture up to the period of Roman occupation from 33 BCE. This 3000 year period is the primary era of dynamic development of megalithic burials and funerary practices in the ancient Maghreb. Relevant references to time periods outwith this time scale will also be made but it will be clear how this will support the overall argument. With regards to the specific chronology of individual tombs and tomb typologies, these will be given

throughout the thesis as they are referred to. A discussion of the chronology of the prehistoric funerary archaeology, including problems and limitations, will be given in the introduction to Chapter 3. The conventional designation Hellenistic period (323 – 31 BCE), traditionally a time of increased cross-Mediterranean contact, will be used throughout this thesis to discuss the relevant time period. However, the validity of this term will be evaluated and challenged in Chapter 5 in light of the socio-political circumstances during this time and the development of indigenous kingdoms. The need for this evaluation and subsequent preference for the term Kingdom period will become clearer throughout this thesis as the argument builds towards a greater sense of indigenous agency in the developments of the later first millennium BCE.

i.iv. Hypothesis and research questions

This thesis serves to prove the well-established ancient roots that informed the later development of megalithic and monumental construction in the later first millennium BCE; a time of significant cross-cultural contact across the Mediterranean, including the Near East and northern Africa. By analysing the development of megalithic construction in the ancient Maghreb within the context of landscape archaeology, socio-political conditions, and ritual engagement, from the earliest human burials in megalithic structures in the 3rd millennium to the monumental tombs of the first millennium BCE, this thesis places emphasis on the continuity that was maintained throughout heightened foreign contact and exchange. This thesis will build on the strides already made by recent scholars attempting to create a more holistic comprehension of the funerary traditions of the ancient Maghreb. As these scholars have focussed primarily on the development of elite displays and socio-political connectivity with the Mediterranean, this current study will instead place emphasis on the human experience of burial and tomb functionality in the physical and social landscape. Through the application of globalization theory, this study argues that the ancient Maghreb by the second half of the first millennium BCE was a creolized society

in which numerous cultures interacted and were engaged with through indigenously-driven motivations resulting in a uniquely Maghrebi sense of social and self-identity. The key research questions therefore are:

- to what extent African and Mediterranean influences can be seen in the funerary landscape of the ancient Maghreb
- how this affects the way we can interpret cultural contact and exchange in this region
- what this reveals about the self- and social identity of the local communities inhabiting ancient North Africa prior to and during the increase in foreign involvement through the lens of globalization and creolization.

This will be an important contribution to the current scholarship as greater emphasis is placed on the active indigenous agency as well as a more informative analysis of not if influences are seen, as argued by other scholars, but how this affects the local inhabitants of the ancient Maghreb. This is not only important for ongoing archaeological and ancient sociological studies but also for modern perceptions of indigenous contributions as expressed in the rise of modern Amazigh cultural awareness as discussed in the conclusion of Chapter 5.

i.v. Methodology

Due to the nature of early research in this region, site selection, specifically of the non-ashlar megalithic tombs of the 3rd to 1st Millennium BCE, was based on access and publication availability. However, as this is a qualitative analysis this is only a representative percentage. The full number of known sites and tombs is very difficult to ascertain as the remote location, changeable limitations on access, and the poor preservation of many sites means this number can change by a large margin. As noted by Camps and Camps-Fabrer at Bou Nouara, one of the more well-studied sites, there are reportedly thousands of tombs. They posit this could be 4000 but as they also state,

only about a tenth can be confirmed.[7] This is similar to the tumulus necropolis at Bouia (Errachidia, Morocco), where 1200 tombs are cited but only 3 had been excavated by the mid-20th century.[8] This is indicative of the problem that is still evident and this number will certainly grow in the future. At Roknia today, a site that is highly accessible, the true number of tombs is obscured by their lack of preservation and how they blend into their surroundings, while the same can also be said of Djebel Gorra. Studies like that of Di Lernia et al., Mori and Mattingly et al. in western Libya too show the extent of this situation, as, although they have recently highlighted hundreds even thousands of tombs, these are only case studies in a much larger and growing field of enquiry.[9] Therefore, the actual number of tombs across the Maghreb can only be estimated and more work is needed in this regard. If a guess is hazarded based on the current necropoleis numbers, the total number of tombs is certainly in the tens of thousands, and likely in the hundreds of thousands. This thesis therefore covers a fraction, certainly less than 5%, of the total number. The main restriction here has been access to sites due to financial and time restraints, as well as safety and sensitivity to local conditions. With regards to the nine later first millennium ashlar tombs discussed at length in Chapter 2, these are the most well-known and most probably only known monuments of their kind in the ancient Maghreb. Their grouping for this thesis stems from Rakob's 1979 article and subsequent scholarship, to which Henchir Bourgou has been added as a contemporary and stylistically comparable construction.

Travel across the Maghreb is still very expensive and only two trips could be arranged, namely to Algeria in October 2017 (7 days), and Tunisia in May 2018 (4 days). Both trips, while highly informative, had to be limited in time and scope due to the high costs and distances involved. Relevant sites that were successfully visited were Cherchell, Tipasa, Kbor er Roumia, Guelma, Roknia, Es Soumaa, the Medracen, Timgad,

[7] Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 7-8.
[8] Margat and Camus (1958); Camps (1961), 180-182.
[9] Mori (2013); Mattingly et al. (2003-2013a).

Tidis, Lambaesis, Hippo Regius, Djemila, Dougga, Elles, Djebel Gorra, Bulla Regia, and Sidi Mahmed Latrech. Upon arrival in Jendouba, near ancient Bulla Regia in Tunisia, access to Chemtou further to the west and the surrounding pre-historic tombs of Bulla Regia was denied due to safety concerns as these are near to the Algerian border, a known problem area for ongoing insurgent activity. At each site, access was again limited as larger tombs could not be physically entered, excavation was not allowed, and sensitivity to local conditions was necessary. Djebel Gorra for instance is near a strategic government installation, therefore discretion with regards to time spent at the site and photography had to be maintained. Each site was photographed as thoroughly as possible, while a simplified form of field survey was also taken where allowed. Where access was not possible, reliance, especially for dimensions and distances, was on publications and the use of satellite imagery through Google Earth, an important resource for this study. The commencement of this study unfortunately coincided with the serious flair up of terrorist activity in central North Africa, resulting in an unforeseen and more restrictive lack of access. Every effort has been made to mitigate this problem. Gazeteers of relevant sites has been provided in the appendix.

i.vi. Literature review

From the early years of scholarship devoted to the ancient Maghreb, emphasis is placed on the Punic and Roman involvement in this region. Gsell for instance, a prolific early author on North African history, centres his six volumes on cultural aspects. Published in the early 20th century, these volumes cover Phoenician colonisation, the Carthaginian state, the Carthaginian military, and the Carthaginian civilization, with only the final two volumes covering the indigenous socio-political and economic conditions, and royal life and material culture.[10] This indicates that early scholarly interest was often preoccupied with the later periods of Maghrebi ancient history, especially those that involved Mediterranean powers. Where Gsell does engage with

[10] Gsell (1918 – 1929)

the archaeology, this is from the perspective that the ancient traditions are covered by a layer of Mediterranean influences.[11] In the mid-20th century, Camps becomes increasingly important for the study of indigenous prehistoric funerary archaeology, most significantly in his 1961 publication which catalogues the various tombs and sites in North Africa associated with the prehistoric Imazighen. While this work places greater emphasis on the development of the local design and construction of megalithic funerary structures, there is still a lack of agency and continuity with regards to the later first millennium BCE ashlar tombs. Camps does include the monumental tumuli, the Medracen and Kbor er Roumia, but excludes the tower tombs and peak monuments, important components to the later development in monumental archaeology of the later kingdoms. However, Camps' work is still not completely exhaustive. At the current level of scholarship and excavation this is still unattainable, and Camps too has to use specific cases as opposed to statistics in a narrative fashion to illustrate his argument. Although still a valuable source, gaps in analysis do remain and often the reader is not given the full site and tomb history with exact locations and dates lacking. For the Numidian archaeology specifically, the work of Rakob and Coarelli and Thébert attempted to place these tombs within the wider African and Mediterranean context of royal architecture, with Quinn and Kuttner building on this concept of political communication further with regards to the use of indigenous symbolism. Using the concepts of code-switching in order to communicate across cultural boundaries, these authors started the discussion on how to approach this new development in Maghrebi monumental architecture.[12] Their main arguments, as well as those of others who have worked on this topic, are presented in more depth in Chapter 2 Section B. While the work to date has made a significant stride in reconciling the African and Mediterranean influences, there are still large gaps to be filled. Rakob for instance focusses only on the royal tombs associated with the Numidian kingdom

[11] Gsell (1929b), 262.
[12] Rakob (1979, 1983); Coarelli and Thébert (1988); Quinn (2013); Kuttner (2013).

while Coarelli and Thébert link the development of the ashlar architecture to a desire to emulate and imitate the Near Eastern tradition of mausolea, seriously undermining any indigenous agency. Quinn and Kuttner, while making the most headway in giving the Imazighen a greater voice in this architectural development (Quinn on the Hellensitic period tombs, and Kuttner on the peak monuments of Chemtou and Kbor Klib) only allude to and do not fully analyse how this was done and to what end.

This current thesis will therefore build on this foundation further by essentially changing the narrative and making the *African* perspective the starting point through an analysis of the indigenous circumstances and conditions that resulted in this archaeological development, from the earliest form of human burial in the Pastoral period to the ashlar monuments of the later first millennium BCE. This thesis therefore differs from the work of Gsell, Camps, Rakob, Coarelli and Thébert, Quinn, and Kuttner by focussing less on the Mediterranean roots of the monumental architecture and funerary expression and the assumption of imitation and emulation, and more on the way in which African traditions come to the fore and are continued, not only in material culture but also through important ritual articulation. This will essentially plug the gap between what has been studied with regards to Mediterranean influences and what can still be learned from a more in depth analysis of ancient African traditions and their contribution to the cultural development in the Maghreb. Based on the evidence available, and that which has informed the work of other scholars, this thesis does not ask whether such influences occurred but why, how, and what this meant for the indigenous inhabitants, not only for the elite as discussed by the likes of Rakob, Kuttner, and Quinn, but also the less-elite. This thesis will therefore reveal much of the social aspects of the ancient inhabitants of this region as reflected in their funerary archaeology. As these structures were create by people living in and interacting with their environment, the motivation and decisions would be driven by complex reactions to politics, social norms, as well as physical needs simply for survival.

With regards to terminology, a distinction will be made between the pre-existing older funerary tradition and the later Hellenistic period tombs by referring to the older tombs as megalithic structures. While the Hellenistic period structures are in the strictest sense also megalithic, being built from large stones, they are ashlar as opposed to the older tradition of rude undressed stone. When the term megalithic is used it will be referring to this non-Hellenistic tradition of construction such as dolmens, chouchet, bazinas, tumuli, mounds, and standing stones. The Hellenistic period ashlar structures will be treated as a development and part of this earlier tradition and therefore will be discussed in conjunction with the earlier megalithic tradition in Chapter 3. The term tumulus, a conical stone construction, will be applied to the Hellenistic period Medracen and Kbor er Roumia tombs, henceforth monumental tumuli, as they are also conical stone constructions following the same earlier tradition. Monumental, while equally applicable to the grander earlier megalithic tombs, will be used for the Hellenistic period structures as a defining term from their massive scale and decorative evolution and refinement compared to the preceding tombs which are less inclined towards these qualities. Standing stones and steles will be distinguished as vertical rude stone placements that bear no writing or decoration (standing stones) and those that bear writing or decoration (steles). All tomb types and structures will be defined and illustrated as they are referred to throughout this thesis.

ii. Structure

Chapter 1 will briefly outline the historical and socio-political setting within which the architectural developments took place. This will include discussion of the ancient sources, notably Herodotus, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Sallust, Strabo, Pliny the Elder, Livy, and Appian. The most important modern publications focussing on the indigenous communities include Gsell's early multi-volume work and Camps' treatment of the social and agricultural development of the ancient Maghreb, while Brett and Fentress' book covers the history of the Imazighen from the earliest phases of human occupation

in the region to modern conditions and experiences.[13] Work by Prados Martínez also looks at the wider engagement of Phoenician and Punic communities with the indigenous inhabitants in relation to funerary archaeology, while socio-political contact in the Roman period is well-covered by the publications of Cherry and Fentress.[14] This chapter will also introduce the developments in experiential archaeology that will be used in this thesis to analyse the funerary remains. This includes mortuary archaeology, landscape archaeology, sense archaeology, and the modern theoretical approaches of globalization and creolization.

Chapter 2 turns to the most famous monumental architecture associated with the royalty and elites of the indigenous Maghreb from the 4th century BCE: the monumental tumuli of the Medracen and Kbor er Roumia, the tower tombs of Dougga, Beni Rhenane, Es Soumaa, Henchir Bourgou, and Sabratha B, as well as the monuments of Chemtou and Kbor Klib. Besides introducing the architectural features, setting, and history of each structure, this chapter will also outline the prevailing interpretations of these monuments and their construction. Rakob's chapter in Horn and Ruger's 1979 book on an exhibition of Maghrebi artefacts in Germany was the first time these structures, with the exception of Henchir Bourgou, were labelled as Numidian royal architecture, linking them to the indigenous kingdoms in the ancient Maghreb in the second half of the first millennium BCE. This work is the main contributing factor to the selection of these monuments for this study as the grouping of these structures into a single tradition persisted as noticeable in more recent work by Ferchiou, Ross, Quinn, and Kuttner.[15] The work of Quinn in particular takes into consideration the contemporary socio-political environment, placing them into their dual Mediterranean and African context. This is a novel approach and one which serves as an important point of departure for this current study which will compliment and expand this line of

[13] Gsell (1918-1930); Camps (1960a); Brett and Fentress (1997).
[14] Prados Martínez (2008); Cherry (1998); Fentress (1979, 2006).
[15] Ferchiou (1991); Ross (2005); Quinn (2013); Kuttner (2013).

enquiry. As recently as 2003, Shaw highlights the continued need to place the Maghreb and its inhabitants into the appropriate context for historical analysis. But, as he states, what exactly is this context: African or Mediterranean?[16] This thesis attempts to provide an answer to this question by analysing these archaeological remains through the lens of contact with both wider northern Africa and the pertinent Mediterranean regions, building on the relatively recent approach described by Shaw.

As discussed in this chapter, the Mediterranean influences on these monuments most often take precedence in the interpretation of these structures. While African origins and influences are certainly acknowledged, the extent and significance of this complex engagement with these influences has not been completely explored. This central theme will form the basis of this thesis which will build on the current foundation. Turning from a structurally-focused analysis, this current study engages more with the human experience of these tombs and their functions. Through this new approach, it will be possible to gain a far more comprehensive understanding of how these monuments functioned in their setting and environment as part of a long-established burial and ritual tradition.

Chapter 3, divided into four sections, starts by looking at this African context and most significantly at how these monumental structures can be placed back into the preceding and ongoing megalithic burial tradition. This chapter argues for the deep-rooted indigenous practices that continued throughout this megalithic development. The introduction to this chapter sets out the relative chronology of the megalithic burial practices in ancient North Africa, from the earliest instances of interment as opposed to disposal, up to the more elaborate and developed tombs of the later 1st millennium BCE. This offers an insight and overview of what the established traditions were prior to the increased contact with non-indigenous cultures. Due to the nature of the archaeological exploration of this region, this is not a complete and quantifying

[16] Shaw (2003), 93.

survey, but rather a selective and qualitative analysis based on case studies and examples which can be used to highlight indigenous trends and traditions.

Section A of this chapter turns to the analysis of the tombs with regards to their location and setting, which in turn requires a greater insight into the specific social dynamics of these equally nomadic and sedentary communities. This section centres on the human experience of landscape and land-use, focussing on the aspects of transhumance, periodic markets, and territoriality, and how these may have affected the location of tombs in the ancient Maghreb. The most important characteristics of Maghrebi society include the high degree of pastoral nomadism that was present from 4000 BCE. The widespread movement of indigenous tribes across the Maghreb and into the Sahara was first reported by Herodotus in the 5th century BCE. This historical account is further analysed and supported by the recent work of Liverani and Wilson who argue for a highly mobile and well-connected population well before the Roman period.[17] Due to the preliterate nature of these communities and the lack of widespread domestic archaeological remains, suitable case studies and cross-cultural comparisons will be used. Modern equivalents are often used in North Africa to inform us of past behaviour, achieving good results as reported by Shaw and Fentress while modern case studies, as discussed by Biagetti and Chalcraft, also offer important points for comparison.[18] However, caution is still required in order to avoid anachronisms in the use of this data. These comparisons with modern cases can be used to explore the nature of the connection between these communities and their surroundings as they were dependent on limited resources and their management. Territoriality and the delineating of land tenure is an important part of this discussion. As communities were not tied to specific locations but rather regions of movement, the marking of boundaries would have had to take on a different format to walls and gates. This section highlights the wide-functioning and socio-political, and possibly economic

[17] Liverani (2000); Wilson (2012).
[18] Shaw (1981); Fentress (2007); Biagetti and Chalcraft (2012).

significance of the megalithic tombs in the ancient Maghreb, elevating these structures above mere sites for the disposal of bodies.

Section B focusses on the structures themselves and how they fit into their immediate setting. This will involve the theme of landscape archaeology and the interaction between the immediate setting and engagement with the topography, their orientation, their external structures, as well as their materiality. This analysis is based not only on evidence from the ancient Maghreb but also includes case studies from other regions of the world that have come to further develop the field and theories of landscape archaeology. These can then be applied to the North African structures. This opens with a discussion of how sacred significance plays a role in the setting of a tomb, as developed by the work of Colson, Parker Pearson, and Mather.[19] The discussion then moves to the significance of visibility and orientation. Midgely and Furholt offer insight into the view *of* and view *from* tombs, while the studies of Belmonte et al., Esteban et al., Santucci and Khoumeri, and Hoskin focus on the orientations of the Maghrebi tombs.[20] The external structures of these tombs emphasise these orientations while also creating ritual spaces within which the living could engage with the dead. With regards to materiality, the discussion centres on physical appearance and energy expenditure which both emphasise the effort required for sourcing and constructing these tombs. Here the work of Furholt and Müller, Arjun and Jadhav, Scarre, and Stone, among others, offer interesting comparisons and insights into the physical dimensions of, and choices in, the construction of tombs.[21] This section of Chapter 3 therefore offers an insight into the lived physical experience and cognitive engagement of positioning, interacting with, and creating these tombs.

[19] Colson (1997); Parker Pearson (2003); Mather (2003).
[20] Midgely (2011); Furholt (2011); Belmonte et al. (1998, 1999); Esteban et al. (2001); Santucci and Khoumeri (2008); Hoskin (2001).
[21] Furholt and Müller (2011); Arjun and Jadhav (2014); Scarre (2016); Stone (2016).

Section C turns to the ritual engagement with the tombs and how this can be determined from the architecture and archaeology. This discussion forms one of the most significant contributions of this thesis with regards to the application of experiential archaeology, that is, landscape and sense archaeology through which the human experience can be determined and analysed. Following on from the previous section's focus on the link between the dead and the land, this section builds on the deeper significance of the use of the dead and their tombs in the everyday lives of the Maghrebi communities. Defining ritual and understanding how this can be determined through archaeological records in pre-literate societies is certainly a challenge. One of the most influential and earliest publications working towards the development of a unified framework within which to approach and understand ritual behaviour is that of Van Gennep and his work on the rites of passage.[22] Dividing these rites into three categories, rites of separation, incorporation, or transition, within which funerary practices lie, Van Gennep endeavoured to place social interactions and engagement into these categories. However, later authors, including Gluckman, Forte, Forde, and most recently Lan, found fault with this early attempt, citing the lack of modern social theories as Van Gennep's shortcoming.[23] Gluckman, Forte, and Lan developed Van Gennep's ideas further, in an attempt to create a more usable definition of ritual. With regards to more physical elements, the work of Bell is used as a framework in this section to discuss the manifestation and articulation of ritual behaviour in communities and how this can be determined through the archaeological remains in the ancient Maghreb.[24] Ritual behaviour is one of the most innate and constant traits of any society and is the element that undergoes the least amount of deliberate change over time. By determining the ritual aspects of the funerary traditions in the ancient Maghrebi communities, it will be possible to determine where continuity and diversion can be seen in the development of megalithic burials. This will allow an insight into the way

[22] Van Gennep (1909), translated into English in 1960.
[23] Gluckman (1962); Fortes (1962); Forde (1962); Lan (2018).
[24] Bell (1997).

these tombs had an ongoing role in the lives of the indigenous populations, beyond simply disposal of a deceased, as the funerary traditions developed into the first millennium BCE. All of this analysis assists in placing the later monumental structures of the Hellenistic period into their wider African context, limited not only to the Maghreb but including the northern half of the continent. However, to ignore the impact made by the proximity and contact with the Mediterranean on the funerary practices of the Maghreb would be unwise. Contact between the Maghreb and various Mediterranean regions, as is true for the wider African networks, occurred over a long period of time resulting in cultural exchange and influence. It is therefore important to determine in the subsequent chapter to what extent these islands and the wider regional contact had an impact on the communities of the Maghreb.

Chapter 4 turns to the theoretical framework within which this contact and exchange took place, introducing the application of globalization theory in **Section A**, again an approach not yet taken to this extent in the ancient Maghreb. This discussion is informed by the recent work of Hodos and Jennings who have applied this theoretical approach to ancient civilizations and their material culture.[25] By identifying the existence of globalization through the trends and characteristics of this process, it is possible to see that two prominent periods or phases took place from the 4th millennium and 4th century BCE, each further developing the megalithic tradition in the Maghreb. As a neutral theoretical approach that does not place one culture higher than another with regards to impact and influence, globalization offers the most balanced angle of investigation not yet achieved. Due to the long-established, long-distance trade network across northern Africa, the wider African cultural connections form the initial aspects of this analysis. The most significant work conducted on this area of

[25] Hodos (2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2017b); Jennings (2011, 2017).

research is that of Liverani, Wilson, Mattingly et al., and Di Lernia before attention turns to the Mediterranean.[26]

An argument made from the early years of archaeological exploration of the Maghrebi megalithic tradition places many of its roots in Mediterranean practices. **Section B** first briefly introduces the main funerary traits of the pertinent regions of Iberia, the Balearics, Sardinia, Malta, and Sicily, those most linked to the Maghrebi tradition. By setting out the most prevalent funerary and architectural practices of these areas, it becomes possible to see the similarities and differences between these and the North African tombs. This raises the question of natural progression of similarly structured and pressured pastoral societies as opposed to direct impact and influence. Two elements that become apparent as integral to the funerary practices of the Mediterranean are the emphasis on communal internal spaces and figurines. As these are not as frequently represented in North Africa, this shows unique origins for the Maghreb traditions or an early divergence from Mediterranean practices. This chapter serves to open the debate further with regards to what can reasonably be seen as actual influence and simply coincidental behaviour and articulation. This avoids any preconceived assumptions of cultural superiority and imbalance, and places the contact and interaction within a network instead of a simpler and more rigid give-and-take relationship. Through this lens, the archaeological remains of the ancient Maghreb become more connected, placing them within a dynamic system with a greater degree of local agency.

Building on this introduction of globalization theory and how the phenomenon can be identified in the ancient Maghreb, **Chapter 5** discusses the results of this process. Here creolization is a suitable theoretical model for the conditions in ancient North Africa. As various influences are certainly present in the later monumental structures, this need not be reduced to a one-sided argument. Rather, similar to the approach taken by

[26] Liverani (2000); Wilson (2012); Mattingly (2017); Mattingly et al. (2017); Di Lernia (2006, 2013).

Webster in her analysis of the cultural interaction between Romans and local inhabitants in Britain, the comparable Maghrebi circumstances can be seen as part of a larger process of cultural negotiation.[27] Using these Roman period examples with their comparative and applicable approaches and results, this chapter serves to highlight how cultural creation as opposed to corrosion led to the development of the earlier megalithic practices into later monumental architecture. This will also include the application of the concept of habitus which is used to encompass the development of self- and social identity within the funerary landscape of the ancient Maghreb. This concept encompasses the trends, traits, and traditions that create and make-up identity and personal-communal expression. This will be an informative aspect in the discussion of identity development over the 3000 year period under review. Taking into consideration the evidence and arguments made in the preceding chapters, this thesis therefore argues that the ancient Maghreb was a creolized society in which various influences through local initiative and adaptation resulted in a unique social and self-identity. This chapter also offers concluding remarks to the thesis and highlights areas of enquiry that should form part of future research outwith the scope of this current study.

[27] Webster (2001, 2005).

Chapter 1: Setting and context - the ancient Maghreb

As this thesis is primarily concerned with the funerary archaeology of the ancient Maghreb, this chapter serves to succinctly place this study into its historical context. As more detailed treatments have been completed through early works such Gsell and Camps, which often form the basis of subsequent studies, including that of Fentress, Brett and Fentress, and the ever-growing online *Encyclopedie Berbère*, a rehashing of these results would serve no purpose here.[28] Instead, this chapter will be used to highlight the significant trends and traits that are pertinent to this current study, namely the wider socio-political environment, the connectivity of the region, and its shared cultural traditions. Three elements of the ancient Maghreb will be focussed on to give a general introduction to the setting of this study; the socio-political context, contact and connectivity within and outwith this region, and the approaches to be taken regarding the archaeological remains.

1.1. Socio-political context

Prior to the arrival of Rome in North Africa, the exact socio-political circumstances of the ancient Maghreb are somewhat unclear. As the indigenous inhabitants did not use their writing system to record their own history, the details of this period are largely dependent on external, foreign sources. Herodotus forms the foundation for numerous later ancient works and it is this account that can, to a certain degree, be used to paint the broad brushstrokes of ancient Maghrebi socio-political life. In Book 4 of his *Histories*, Herodotus creates the image of a scattered yet relatively connected environment of local and regional tribal and familial groups. With diverse names and highly exaggerated cultural traits, these groups are located in various areas of this region but share key features. While some groups are described as more isolated and in a sense wilder, such as the Ethiopians or Troglodytes, others are more established, with

[28] Gsell (1929b); Camps (1960a); Fentress (1979); Brett and Fentress (1997), Encyclopédie Berbère (website).

far reaching influence and impact, including the Garamantes.[29] Subsequent ancient authors base much of their work on Herodotus, including Polybius and Diodorus Siculus, who offer an early and rather brief overview of the tribes of the Maghreb. In addition, Sallust, Strabo, Pliny the Elder, Livy, and Appian give greater insight into the third century BCE indigenous kingdoms and their interactions with the Roman and Punic forces during and after the Punic Wars. While this evidence still needs to be approached in a cautious manner, through these works it is possible to form at least a general understanding of the socio-political dynamics as observed by the Greeks and Romans. With regards to these dynamics, a loose distinction can be made between the non-elite and royal members of these communities and the respective domains in which they operated, namely the rural tribal settlements and the urban royal centres.

1.1a. Towns and tribes

The first impression one gets when consulting these ancient authors is the overall complexity of the tribal system in the ancient Maghreb. Pliny the Elder for instance claims that 516 'peoples' inhabited North Africa.[30] While the strict delineation between, and names of, these tribes may be speculative and based on a foreign comprehension of this system, epigraphic evidence certainly points to such a complexity. As Fentress notes, there was a multi-layered form of social identity with a hierarchy of affiliation, and subsequent expression of this affiliation through epigraphy.[31] One such inscription dated to the 2nd century BCE from a temple in Dougga (modern Thugga) offers an insight into this hierarchy, listing the hereditary title GLD (Aguellid) and the detailed naming of the forefathers of all those involved in the construction.[32] This form of expression not only allows us to see these associations but

[29] Herodotus, *Hist*. 4.183, notes how the Troglodytes screech like bats and are chased by the apparently superior Garamantes in their chariots.
[30] Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 5.4.
[31] Fentress (1979), 43-47. This characteristic of the tribal structure in the ancient Maghreb will be analysed further in Chapter 3 of this thesis.
[32] Brett and Fentress (1997), 37-40.

also emphasises the importance of belonging and the correct projection of these connections. The fact that the ancient Imazighen used their writing system almost exclusively for the clarification of these links through stele which record names and family ties, further stresses their priority.[33] This practice of specifying one's self-identity continued into the Roman period. Apuleius in the mid-second century CE proudly declares himself part Numidian and part Gaetulian (*Seminumidam et Semigaetulum*), showing that association was not fixed to a single tribal identity.[34] Equally interesting, Apuleius, even at this later date, considers himself completely indigenous and does not refer to either Punic or Roman connections. Taking into consideration the nature of life in the ancient Maghreb, where communities were at the mercy of often limited and vulnerable resources, these affiliations and networks would have been important not only for their socio-political stability but also their continued access to these territorially-linked resources and inevitably their survival in a relatively harsh environment.

The locations of these tribes have been loosely associated with specific areas of the Maghreb, as based on Herodotus' descriptions. However, the exact locations of fixed rural settlements, outside of the urban centres, remain largely speculative.[35] According to Diodorus Siculus, the only permanent buildings were in fact "towers built near water sources" controlled by elites, while *mapalia*, woven temporary huts resembling the hulls of upturned boats, have been linked to semi-nomadic communities.[36] Once again, ancient texts inform us of their existence, as archaeological evidence for these smaller towns and structures is scarce. Therefore, for the location of these less prominent

[33] See for instance *ILA* I 3144, *ILA* I 138, *ILA* I 156, Fentress (1979), 44-46; Gsell (1922), 15-16, 307. While these inscriptions are of a later date as evidenced by the use of Latin in bilingual texts, they still refer to the earlier naming and hierarchical practice of the indigenous communities.
[34] Apuleius, *Apol.* 24.
[35] Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 5.2.3, lists Cirta, Sicca, Bulla Regia, Hippo Regius, and Tabraca as important Numidian urban centres; see also Camps (1960a), 275-277.
[36] Diodorus Siculus, *Bib.* 3.49.3; Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 5.2; Sallust, *Bell. Jug*. 18, claims the *mapalia* were originally developed by Persian settlers on the North African coast who used their boats for shelter.

tribes and their communities, we are more reliant on the predominant archaeology that survives, namely their funerary architecture. These tribal links would have been very ancient but by the second half of the first millennium BCE the development of larger kingdoms appears across the Maghreb under the control of so-called kings and princes. It is these individuals and their kingdoms that came into greater contact with the Roman world and therefore featured more heavily in the ancient sources and for which we have more information and insight.

1.1b. Cities and kings

The development of kingdoms in the second half of the first millennium BCE has been described as the result of increased contact with, and interest from, foreign Mediterranean powers, namely the Punic and Roman civilizations.[37] The encroaching boundaries on the interior of the Maghreb created increased competition for land and resources, which led to the indigenous population articulating their control in a more overt format, hence the creation of centralised hierarchies and dynasties. While, according to Appian, a number of independent tribal chieftains existed in this region, five kingdoms appear to be the dominant forces during the later first millennium BCE: the Maures in the extreme west in modern Morocco, the Massyli in the central-west, the Masaesily in the central-east, the Gaetuli to the south of the Maures, and the Garamantes at the eastern end of this region, in modern south western Libya (Fig.1.3).[38] Each of these kingdoms was ruled by a royal family, some of which feature more heavily than others in the ancient textual sources, and to a lesser extent, archaeological remains.

[37] Brett and Fentress (1997), 34, describe this development as driven by the "emulation of the major polities".
[38] Appian, *Pun*. 2.10.

Maures

Ruled by kings including Baga, Bogus, Bocchus, and Juba, with their territory ranging from the Atlantic coast to the Mulucha River (modern Moulouya), the Maures were considered a thriving nation inhabiting a largely fertile land.[39] Nomadism was still a large part of the Maurian society, although settlements such as Lixus and Tingis are named in the Roman sources.[40] The cavalry too formed an important part of their military life, with javelins, swords, leather shields and breastplates noted as part of their weaponry, while smaller tribes bordering them, the Pharusii and Nigretes, made use of bows and chariots.[41] According to Sallust, the Maures or Moors, even at the time of Bocchus (c.105 – 81 BCE), had very little to no contact with Rome, and "knew nothing of the Romans but their name". However, this is probably an exaggeration to emphasise their isolation, as Strabo informs us that Bogus and Bocchus were in fact allied to Rome.[42] In the time of Juba I in the mid-first century BCE, the coastal city of Iol was rebuilt, renamed as Caesarea (modern Cherchell), and became this king's capital.[43] This simplification of the involvement of certain African leaders and their tribes in Mediterranean politics is a recurring theme in some writers' works which only serves to further complicate the level of comprehension of these peoples. This may have been a deliberate political ploy to undermine the authority of local leaders, and thereby raise the status of Rome, or simply due to lack of insight on the part of ancient authors. The territory of the Maures was collectively known as Mauretania, and ultimately divided by the Romans into the two provinces Mauretania Tingitana and Mauretania Caesariensis when Roman occupation was complete. Pliny the Elder notes, however, that these lands retained the traditional names of their rulers Bogud and Bocchus, as

[39] Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.3.2,4,6-7; Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 19; Brett and Fentress (1997) 25.
[40] Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 5.1.1; Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.3.2,6,7.
[41] Strabo, *Geogr*. 17.3.7; Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 5.8.
[42] Sallust, *Bell. Jug*. 19; Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.3.7; Horn and Rüger (1979), 666.
[43] Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 5.1.2; Strabo, *Geogr*. 17.3.12; Horn and Rüger (1979), 665.

referred to by the local inhabitants.[44] This emphasises not only the convention of affiliation with past leaders held by the indigenous residences, but also the continuation of local practices and traditions even after Roman occupation.

Masaesyli

To the east of the Mulucha River, and the end of Maurian territory, was the land of the Masaesyli. Under the control of King Syphax (c.220 – 203 BCE) and later his son Vermina (c.204/203 – 190s BCE), there were royal capitals at Siga (near modern Oran) and Cirta (modern Constantine).[45] This too, was noted as fertile land with numerous coastal cities and large arable plains with waterways and lakes, which are presumably the seasonal *sebkha* found throughout the Maghreb.[46] Precious minerals, rubies and carbuncle, are noted in this region, while abundant crops are also reported by Strabo.[47] During the Second Punic War (218 – 201 BCE), Syphax joined forces with the Carthaginians under Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother, against the Romans. Upon their defeat, the Masaeylian king was imprisoned and his land annexed by Rome and given to his neighbours, the Massyli and their king, Massinissa.[48] Syphax had been in contact with the Roman forces during this war in an effort to negotiate peace, either through visitations or through letters, but to no avail.[49] Camps states that if Syphax had in fact been successful during the Second Punic War, he may have gained as legendary a status as Massinissa.[50] In addition, Appian claims Syphax was respected above all other kings in the ancient Maghreb, speaking to the prominence of this Masaesylian king.[51]

[44] Pliny the Elder *Nat.* 5.1.2; Horn and Rüger (1979), 665.
[45] Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.3.9; Brett and Fentress (1997), 25.
[46] Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.3.9. A *sebhka* is a salt flat where the water level fluctuates depending on rainfall.
[47] Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.3.11.
[48] Livy, *Ab Urb.* 30; Sallust *Bell. Jug.* 5.
[49] Livy, *Ab Urb.* 30.3.4-7.
[50] Camps (1960a), 235.
[51] Appian, *Pun*. 2.10.

After Syphax's defeat, Vermina took control of the greater part of his father's kingdom, assisting Hannibal on his return to North Africa.[52]

Massyli

To the east of the Masaesylian territory, were the Massyli, under the reign of Gaia (d.206 BCE) and later his son Massinissa (206 – 148 BCE) whose land ended near the gulf of the Lesser Syrtis.[53] After the fall of Syphax and the conquest of his land, the royal capital Cirta, a place of great wealth and strength, came under the control of Massinissa.[54] Other cities traditionally associated with the Massyli are Bulla Regia, Collo, Sicca (modern El Kef), and Tabraca or Tabarca.[55] Having helped the Romans and General Scipio Africanus fight the Carthaginians in the Second Punic War, Massinissa was rewarded with numerous new territories, including that of Syphax and Carthage. Upon reception of Syphax' land, Massinissa essentially combined the Masaesyli and Massily kingdoms, forming what has traditionally come to be known as Numidia, stretching from the Mauretanian border to Cyrene.[56] Massinissa was a strongly charismatic figure and features prominently with an air of awe in the works of the ancient authors, Appian being particularly enthusiastic.[57] This enigmatic and at times legendary status led to Massinissa being credited with revolutionary and civilizing instigations in his kingdom and even more widely in the Maghreb. Camps evaluated this status, finding that much of the god-like qualities attributed to Massinissa and his son Micipsa may not have been the perception of the indigenous population as a whole while these kings were alive.[58] Regardless, it is Massinissa and his immediate family that form a large part of the ancient histories and it is through their story and those

[52] Appian, *Pun*. 6.33.
[53] Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 19; Brett and Fentress (1997), 25; Horn and Rüger (1979), 665.
[54] Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.3.13; Appian, *Pun*. 5.27.
[55] Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 5.2.
[56] Livy, *Ab Urb.* 30.5; Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 5; Appian, *Pun*. 5.27, 10.67, 16.106.
[57] Appain, *Pun*. 16.106.
[58] Camps (1960a).

that engaged with them that we learn about the socio-political dynamics of the ancient kingdoms in the Maghreb.

After Massinissa's death in 148 BCE, power fell to his sons Micipsa, Gulussa, and Mastanabal. They each became kings and were given the responsibility of political governance, military command, and judiciary power respectively, and continued their alliance with Rome. Gulussa and Mastanabal subsequently died from illness in 140/139 BCE, leaving Micipsa in sole charge of Numidia until his death in 118 BCE. The dynasty then continued through Hiempsal and Adherbal, Micipsa's sons, and the son of Mastanabal, Jugurtha.[59] This latter figure proved to be remarkably popular among the Numidians as a capable and ambitious young man, much to the aging Micipsa's concern.[60] Shortly after his ascension, Hiempsal was murdered at Jugurtha's orders, resulting in war between the supporters of Jugurtha and those of the remaining brother, Adherbal. War ensued and after Adherbal's defeat and flight to Rome, Jugurtha remained in the favour of Rome's nobility through bribery, resulting in the Numidian Kingdom being divided between the two; Jurgurtha taking the western half, and Adherbal the east in 118 BCE.[61] Jugurtha proceeded to goad Adherbal into war, culminating in a battle outside Cirta, where Adherbal once again relied on the Romans for defence and arbitration, before ultimately being defeated and executed in 112 BCE.[62] As this defeat included the killing of a number of Romans in Cirta, Rome declared war on Jugurtha in 111 BCE, resulting in the latter's surrender.[63] However, peace did not last and more battles ensued with Jugurtha gaining support and troops from the Gaetuli and the Maures, under his father-in-law King Bocchus, who, seeking favour from Rome, eventually betrayed Jurgutha to the Romans in 105 BCE, bringing the war

[59] Appian, *Pun.* 16.106-111; Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 5; Horn and Rüger (1979), 665.
[60] Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 6.
[61] Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 12-16; Horn and Rüger (1979), 665.
[62] Sallust, *Bell*. *Jug.* 20-26; Horn and Rüger (1979), 665.
[63] Sallust, *Bell. Jug*. 27-29; Brett and Fentress (1997), 42; Horn and Rüger (1979), 665.

to an end.[64] Numidia continued to prosper under Jugurtha's brother Gauda (d.88 BCE), followed by Gauda's son Hiempsal II (d.50s BCE), and finally his grandson Juba I. Rome eventually took ultimate control of North Africa in 33 BCE when the final indigenous king, Bocchus II, handed his territory to Octavian.[65] Although local client kings remained for a few years, this essentially ended the indigenous control of the majority of North Africa until independence in the 1950s and 1960s from European powers.

Gaetuli

The Geatuli remained relatively separated from the politics of Rome, and were regarded in kind as a "rude and uncivilized" and "warlike" nation apparently preoccupied solely with nomadism, resulting in the original use of the name Numidian.[66] However, there is little evidence to support this lack of fixed settlement, and *oppida* have in fact been associated with the Gaetuli.[67] According to Strabo, the Gaetuli were the largest of the African tribes, spreading into the interior below the land of the Maures, Masaesily, and Massyli.[68] The area ascribed to them is often any inland location not traditionally linked to the three coastal kingdoms, which only serves to emphasise their relative obscurity. Their involvement in various battles, however, is recorded in the ancient sources, attesting to a degree of engagement with the foreign powers in North Africa. Throughout various battles fought in the Maghreb in the first century BCE, the Gaetuli gave their support to Roman powers against other African leaders. This included fighting alongside Marius against Sulla and his African partners Hiempsal and Bocchus in 87; beside Domitius against Pompey and Hiempsal in 82; and, after initially supporting Scipio, joining the troops of Caesar during the battles against

[64] Sallust, *Bell. Jug*. 80-81, 88, 102-103, 113-114; Horn and Rüger (1979), 665.
[65] Brett and Fentress (1997), 42-43; Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 65.
[66] Sallust, *Bell*. *Jug*. 18, 80, translation by Watson (1899). The term Numidian seems to have been applied to any tribe seen engaging with nomadic practices, as according to Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 5.2., this was first used by the Greeks to describe the Massyli.
[67] Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.3.9; Julius Caesar *Bel. Afri.* 25.2; Brett and Fentress (1997), 42.
[68] Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.3.2; Daniels (1970b), 16.

Juba I in 49 BCE.[69] The Gaetuli were also brought into the Jugurthine War by Jugurtha himself who had fled to the south to gain their support.[70] As demonstrated above, socio-political insight into the Gaetuli is dependent on their relatively limited involvement in warfare during the period of increased Roman interest in North Africa with no independent sources of insight prior to this. To an extent, the same is also true for the larger and more powerful Garamantian kingdom.

Garamantes

As the Garamantes did not have as much direct contact with the Roman and Punic powers as the other four kingdoms, Classical textual sources offer scant insight into their society. Their strength and technological advancements form part of the earliest reports on this society. Herodotus, one of the few to write about the Garamantes, leaves the impression of a fiercely independent and powerful nation, who engaged in warfare against its neighbours, the Ethiopians, chasing them with their chariots.[71] The presence of chariots is well attested in 1200 examples of rock art found across North Africa.[72] While Herodotus only links the Garamantian kingdom with chariots, rock art depictions are found across a very wide area, from northern Tibesti to the western High Atlas region and may in fact been introduced to the wider Maghreb by the Garamantian kingdom itself (Fig.3.2).[73] From Herodotus we also learn that the Garamantes herded long-horn cattle which too are represented in numerous rock art depictions, while agriculture is also evidenced by the underground *foggara* water channels (Fig.3.3).[74] Pliny the Elder is the only other ancient author to offer any further insight into the Garamantes, recording Cornelius Balbus' campaign against them during

[69] Fentress (1982), 325, 329.
[70] Sallust, *Bell. Jug*. 80.
[71] Herodotus, *Hist.* 4.183.
[72] Anderson (2016), 286.
[73] Daniels (1970b), 12-13; Anderson (2016), 294; Mattingly et al. (2003), 287.
[74] Herodotus, *Hist.* 4.183; Daniels (1970b), 17.

the reign of Augustus.[75] It is only during the revolt of Tacfarinas in the 1st century CE that the Garamantes next interact with Rome and enter the written record.[76] However, as these interactions only occurred after the occupation of Africa by Rome, very little is known about the Garamantes between the time of Herodotus' account and the Roman period Maghreb.

Archaeological and material evidence focussed on these people and their lifestyle, however, is on the rise. Field research conducted in the 1960s and 70s found what is believed to the early development of state formation in the traditional area of the Garamantes at a site called Zinchecra in Fazzan, western Libya, dating to 1000 BCE. Later, the nearby site of Germa or Garama became the primary location for this newly formed kingdom.[77] The Garamantes formed the earliest known state and were a remarkably advanced society as evidenced by the archaeological remains they left behind.[78] Through the ever-growing archaeological exploration in this area, an increasing amount of evidence attesting to a well-connected and powerfully independent kingdom is being discovered. This evidence and its significance for the wider analysis of this thesis will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

1.1c. Engagement and identity

Smaller, independent groups also existed at this time and while their engagement with the more famous North African political and military movements are somewhat overlooked in the ancient sources, they too could hold sway. For example, after the defeat of Syphax, Hannibal, upon returning to North Africa, was able to gain the support of the Areacidae tribe and 1000 horses from the chieftain Mesotulus, while Syphax's son Vermina too gave his support to the Carthaginian general.[79] The power of

[75] Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 5.5; Daniels (1970b), 20-21.
[76] Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.23-26; Daniels (1970b), 21.
[77] Pliny the Elder notes that this is the city of the Garamantes, *Nat*. 5.5; Daniels (1970a); Brett and Fentress (1997), 23. See also Mattingly et al. (2013a) on the more recent excavations at Garama.
[78] Mattingly (2017).
[79] Appian, *Pun*. 6.33.

these kings and chieftains is also evident not only in their alliances and military involvement with Rome and Carthage but also in the number of men and horses they could command when the need arose. Massinissa is said to have gathered 20 000 men and horses to battle the Carthaginians, Jugurtha rallied numerous Gaetuli troops in his fight against the Romans, while the combined forces of Hasdrubal and Syphax, even after heavy defeats, totalled 30 000 men.[80] These kings were powerful not only to their own people, but also made a clear and profound impact on the ancient authors, who each added their own embellishments to the achievements and exploits of these men and their subjects. While military contact features most prominently in the interactions between the Mediterranean powers and the North African kingdoms, this was not the only avenue for engagement.

There were three main forms for this contact: military and socio-political, as already discussed, and trade. These all overlapped to create a dynamic and at times complex network of interaction. With regards to trade and economics, agricultural surplus was one of the main items of trade. While Massinissa is traditionally credited with introducing widespread agriculture to North Africa, this legendary civilizing status has been revised by Camps and most recently by Mattingly who place agricultural development and urbanism well before this king's reign.[81] However, what remains as a new development is the increased scale of production. This development in agriculture reached the extent of large quantities of surplus grain being sold to the Romans in Greece, essentially fuelling Roman expansion in this region.[82] Marble also formed an important part of trade, with the Numidian site of Chemtou producing the much-desired yellow *marmor numidicum* or *giallo antico.* While this quarry was in use prior to the Roman period, increased production occurred between the 1st and 2nd centuries

[80] Appian, *Pun*. 2.11; Sallust, *Bell. .Jug.* 80; Livy, *Ab Urb.* 30.7.13.
[81] Camps (1960a), 57-68, 298; Mattingly (2016).
[82] Camps (1960a) 199-201; Brett and Fentress (1997), 33, Bridoux (2014), 198.

CE.[83] Further economic impact can also be seen on a smaller trade scale and will be discussed further with regards to the taxation of transhumant herders in Chapter 3 Section A of this current study.

In addition to their economic practice of horseman-for-hire, the indigenous North African cavalry was widely revered and became a symbol of these kingdoms. Strabo notes how the power of Cirta under Massinissa and Micipsa was measured by the large number of horseman it could send out, totalling 10 000 cavalry and 20 000 foot soldiers.[84] The breeding and rearing of horses was not limited to the powerful coastal kingdoms but was also undertaken by the Gaetuli and Garamantes where 100 000 colts were said to have been born annually.[85] During the Second Punic War, even though the Numidians under Massinissa fought on the side of the Romans, 2000 Numidian horses were also acquired by the Punic forces.[86] While this may seem like disloyalty among the Numidian ranks, this speaks rather to the degree of tribal independence even within this large confederation which in turn emphasises the complexity of association discussed above.

The role of the horse in the expression of power and elitism goes beyond the involvement of the cavalry and was also used in artistic articulation. The famous Chemtou Horseman stele demonstrates the use of this imagery, where a cloaked rider with wavy hair and beard sits atop a saddled and bridled horse (Fig.1.1).[87] The coins of Syphax, Vermina, Massinissa, and his descendants, as well as Juba II also all incorporated the horse in some form, ranging from galloping with a rider, rearing, or

[83] Russell (2013), 10, 14, 44, 91-92; Horn (1979); Rakob (1993a); Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 5.2 in fact notes how there is nothing particularly remarkable about Numidia besides this marble.
[84] Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.3.13.
[85] Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.3.19
[86] Appian, *Pun*. 2.9.
[87] Bertrandy (1986), identifies the Chemtou Horseman as Juba I, dating the stele to 50-46 BCE; see also Brett and Fentress (1997), 64-65, for the later comparable example of the Abizar Stele (3rd-4th century CE), demonstrating a continuation of this warrior tradition.

just a head.[88] While the rest of the coin motifs, including the actual use of coins, recall Hellenistic influences, such as the diademed king and Punic and Latin legends, the use of indigenous symbols and traits, including full beards and the importance of horses, show a far greater sense of agency in these kings' projections (Fig.1.2).[89] However, the use of warrior symbolism is not only present in later, more refined imagery. Earlier stylistic examples of human figures and riders can be found in prehistoric rock art, where weaponry such as round shields and daggers are depicted with the Pastoral Period hunting scenes dating to 7500 to 4000 BP and the Horse Period in rock art starting approximately 3000 BP.[90]

The indigenous tribes and kingdoms of the ancient Maghreb were more than just a rabble waiting to be civilised by Mediterranean powers. From tribal levels to positions of supreme power, the ancient Imazighen had great impact when they worked together against incoming threats, and against each other in conjunction with these foreign powers. Between alliances with the Romans, Punics, or other African kings, the Imazighen played an active part in the political development of the ancient Maghreb. This was not merely a top-down exchange between future coloniser and colonised, with Rome and the North African elite relationship at times reaching a personal level.[91] Massinissa in fact trusted Scipio with dividing his territory between his heirs upon the Massylian king's death.[92] The Numidian cavalry in particular became an important avenue of contact between this indigenous kingdom and the Romans. Micipsa sent both soldiers and horseman under the leadership of Jugurtha to aid the Romans during the Numantine War in Spain (143 – 133 BCE). Here the young commander was reportedly befriended by the general Scipio Aemelianus and received public honours

[88] Baldus (1979).
[89] Kormikiari (2005); see also Camps (1960a), 287-289.
[90] Jodin (1966) draws a direct comparison between a figure with a round shield and the Abizar Stele. See also Letan (1966); Luquet (1967); Simoneau (1968-1972); Regagnon (1979-80); Rodrigue (1987-88); Oulmakki and Lemjidi (2009); El Khayari (2009); Ruiz-Gálvez et al. (2015); British Museum (no date).
[91] See for instance Strabo, *Geogr*, 17.3.12.
[92] Appian, *Pun*. 16.105.

for his assistance to the Republic.[93] The close relationship between Numidia and Rome is certainly emphasised by Sallust, who writes of a favourable speech by Adherbal at Rome. The Numidian calls for a close unity between the two powers by referring to himself as "the hereditary ally" of Rome.[94] The mutual acknowledgement of this more cosmopolitan status can also be seen further afield in the royal dedication at Delos naming the Numidian rulers as recognised Hellenistic kings.[95] As seen in the above brief summary, Rome's presence in North Africa was largely dependent on maintaining a stable relationship with the Maghrebi elite. Due to their command of the resources, both natural and human, these indigenous confederations and chieftains held significant sway over the prosperity of the Republic and later the Empire in the Maghreb. The wider interaction in the Maghreb is certainly not limited to the later first millennium BCE with early interconnectivity spreading further into Africa and the Mediterranean.

1.2. Contact and connectivity

Although a vast area with diverse terrains and climates, the Maghreb and the wider Sahara was certainly traversable and evidence of early long-distance trade has created an intriguing new area of research. This trade, however, was not just oriented to the south but also northwards via the Mediterranean Sea. Shaw offers an interesting perspective of viewing the Maghreb as an island or rather as a number of smaller islands created by the harsh climate of the Saharan desert and the unfavourable currents of the Mediterranean. According to Shaw these factors created island-like communities on this single landmass, each with their own local reactions to external stimuli.[96] While this argument centres primarily on the Maghreb as essentially a

[93] Appian, *Hisp.* 14.89, lists elephants among Jugurtha's arsenal; Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 7; Fentress (1982), 329, footnote 12.
[94] Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 14. Translation by Watson (1899).
[95] Launey (1935); Baslez (1981). Brett and Fentress (1997), 27, also discuss the various honours bestowed upon Massinissa and Syphax during their reigns.
[96] Shaw (2003), 116. This concept of glocalisation will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Mediterranean island, Shaw too notes the divisions and barriers created by the desert in North Africa. However, the Sahara should be seen as not merely a hindrance to connectivity but a conduit for a wide network of trade and exchange.

1.2a. Trans-Saharan contact

In Herodotus' description of the tribes of the ancient Maghreb, he notes the distances it takes to travel from one to the other, culminating in a cross-desert path with intervals of ten days between sources of water and habitation.[97] The existence of this early trans-Saharan route has been the centre of a number of studies, with the work of Liverani testing the validity of Herodotus' claim.[98] The University of Leicester has been involved with some of the most significant studies focussing on the extent of early connectivity of this desert region, namely the Desert Migrations Project and the subsequent Trans-SAHARA Project.[99] In addition, publications centred on the extent and impact of this connectivity have made great strides in understanding not only the scope of the contact across the desert but also its longevity. Evidence for these routes and trade links stretch back into the early Holocene period as the Sahara turned from land of plenty to one of desertification from approximately the 4th millennium BCE.[100] The widespread representation of chariots in rock art dating from the Pastoral period further demonstrates the speed and efficiency with which this contact could occur. While Daniels dismisses the suggestion that the location of these depictions correlates with a Saharan road network, recent work by Anderson links the location of these chariot images to known trade routes.[101] The topic of trans-Saharan trade and its ramifications for the ancient Maghrebi communities are discussed further in Chapter 3 of this study, while the underlying theoretical causes and subsequent consequences

[97] Herodotus, *Hist*. 4.181-185.
[98] Liverani (2000).
[99] Desert Migrations (website); Trans-SAHARA (website).
[100] See for instance Mattingly (2017); Mattingly et al. (2017); Di Lernia (2006, 2013); Di Lernia and Manzi (2002a); Di Lernia et al. (2013); Wilson (2012) focusses on this trade during the Roman period.
[101] Daniels (1970b), 13.

are analysed in Chapters 4 and 5. While land networks are becoming increasingly clearer, this contact is not only limited to a southern prolongation but also includes the Maghreb's northern front, the Mediterranean Sea.

1.2b. Mediterranean contact

Due to the relative lack of natural harbours, as noted by Pliny the Elder, and the low land visibility from these shores, as demonstrated in Broodbank's recent publication, the Maghreb and its inhabitants were not primarily engaged with self-motivated long-distance sea trade.[102] Despite this, early trade is evidenced by ceramics, metal items, and obsidian found in Maghrebi sites dating from about 3000 BCE and originating from various Mediterranean regions including Iberia, Sicily, and Lipari.[103] Recent research conducted on the DNA of Iberian inhabitants dating to approximately 2000 BCE shows not only trade links but African settlement on this peninsula. Significantly, this includes DNA markers from sub-Saharan regions, including western central Africa, which too speaks to the impact and extent of trans-Saharan movement.[104] Important early contact that would have a lasting influence on the Maghreb, was with the Phoenician civilization, and the subsequent Punic communities, from the late 12th century BCE onwards. This saw the establishment of significant early Punic settlements in North Africa. Ancient texts place development at Utica and Lixus towards the end of the 12th century BCE, but archaeology only confirms Carthage from the 9th century BCE.[105] As Appian notes during the Punic Wars, by the 3rd century BCE, a number of different Mediterranean cultural groups were present in the ancient Maghreb, forming part of various military outfits.[106]

[102] Pliny the Elder, *Nat*. 5.1.1; Broodbank (2015), 8-9.
[103] Desange (1981), 425-426.
[104] González-Fortes et al. (2019).
[105] Lancel (1997), 1-2, 94-95; Brett and Fentress (1997), 24. Strabo writes of coastal Phoenician settlements in Mauretania, *Geogr*. 17.3.2.
[106] Appian , *Pun*. 7.40, lists Ligurians, Celts, Moors, and Balearic islanders among Hannibal's troops.

The Maghreb was not alone in experiencing the results of this contact, with Phoenician settlements developing across much of the western Mediterranean, including Iberia, the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, Malta, and southern Italy. This is a very large and complex area of study covered most recently by Markoe, Moscati, Aubet, and Quinn and Vella, among others, while Prados Martínez has focussed specifically on Punic funerary archaeology.[107] Recent work by Quinn has opened the study even further through a publication which calls into question the very existence of the Phoenicians as perceived in modern times.[108] The need for consistent trade with the local Maghrebi population meant that the Punic settlers had to maintain good relations with the indigenous communities, restraining their expansion into the hinterland through apparent negotiation.[109] Relations between Carthage and the indigenous people fluctuated. According to Polybius, the Punic state was able to pay for its wars from the high tribute and taxes from the Imazighen within their territory, and made use of the indigenous mercenaries for these wars. However, a revolt in the mid-third century BCE against harsh treatment, the Mercenary or Libyan War, saw this relationship, and essentially Carthage's livelihood, threatened. Although the Amazigh mercenaries were defeated, the war lasted for more than three years and proves the potential strength of the indigenous communities.[110] Not all relations with the Carthaginians were sour though, as Massinissa, educated in this city, was engaged to be married to the Punic noblewoman Sophinisba, Hasdrubal's daughter. It is to this early connection to Carthage that Hannibal appeals in order to negotiate a truce with Massinissa during the Second Punic War.[111] The Carthaginians later granted this engagement to Syphax in order to maintain the much needed military support from this king in the build-up to the Second Punic War, but upon the Masaesylian king's defeat, Massinissa married

[107] Markoe (2000); Moscati (1968, 2001); Aubet (2001); Prados Martínez (2008), Quinn and Vella (2014).
[108] Quinn (2017).
[109] Appian, *Pun.* 1.1; Livy, *Ab Urb.* 4.62.11-12; see also Virgil's *Aeneid* 1.367-368.; Brett and Fentress (1997), 24.
[110] Polybius, *Hist*. 1.70-72, 87-88.
[111] Appian, *Pun*. 6.37.

Sophonisba. However, this proved to be ill-fated and in order to escape Scipio's wrath for supposedly having turned Syphax against the Romans, Sophonisba took her own life.[112] While ancient written sources should be used with caution in light of the possibility of legend becoming fact, they still offer an important and plausible insight into the general formation of the indigenous kingdoms and their contact with foreign powers. Although certain aspects of the personal interactions of many of these elites may be influenced by the ancient author's own motivations, be they sincere or otherwise, these texts are still useful when attempting to recreate a general sense of the level of engagement during this period, which is not recorded in any other format.

Contact and engagement between the Punic culture and local inhabitants can be seen in various social dimensions, such as language and religion. This includes the use of the Punic language in bilingual inscriptions, certain personal names, and deities such as Tanit and Bal Hammon widely represented on steles, in the form of a crescent moon and horn symbolism respectively.[113] The role of Punic influence on funerary traditions specifically has also been the focus of studies.[114] The significance of this contact and exchange is discussed further with regards to the theoretical approach of creolization in Chapter 5 of this current study. As funerary archaeology forms a large part of the material remains associated with these indigenous communities prior to the Roman period, their analysis is essential in fully comprehending this ancient civilization. This will not only focus on the physical construction of these tombs, but also the more intangible ritual and human experience of death and burial in the ancient Maghreb.

[112] Appian, *Pun*. 2.10, 27-28.
[113] See the Dougga inscription in Chapter 2 of this current study; Brett and Fentress (1997), 37-40; see also Lancel (1997), 194-204; Bridoux (2014), 181-183, focusses predominantly on Punic pottery.
[114] See for instance Prados Martínez (2008). This will also be discussed further with regards to the haouanet and tower tomb traditions of North Africa in Chapter 3.

1.3. Archaeology

Two of the most prolific early scholars to focus on the funerary archaeology of the indigenous Maghreb are Reygasse, covering the pre-Islamic remains, and Camps, focussing specifically on the Imazighen.[115] Camps' data collection and cataloguing has remained unsurpassed with regards to quantity and diversity. While this catalogue has been used as the basis for many later studies, the period of publication, namely the transition of North Africa from colonial to independent states, means it is also a product of its time. The publication is centred on the typology of tombs and the grave goods within, with limited analysis of what this means for funerary behaviour in this region. While it is an essential source for the location and description of many sites and structures, this publication must remain a point of departure as opposed to a complete record and interpretation of North African funerary remains. The nature of North African archaeology from its earliest times in the French and Italian colonial period – the 19th and early 20th centuries – means that the methods employed were not always wholly scientific compared to modern standards and may reflect colonial thinking. Although some exemplary publications from this period remain useful, without further exploration, questions which were never asked at the time of excavation have to remain speculative.[116] Recent surveys and studies of the Maghreb that have built on this early knowledge with a more scientific approach include those of Ferchiou who covered a number of Tunisian sites, both Punic and indigenous. These studies not only catalogue but also attempt to interpret these sites with regards to their setting and context.[117] The more recent edited volume of Stone and Stirling offers a new approach to what they term the "mortuary landscapes" of ancient North Africa, with chapters

[115] Reygasse (1950); Camps (1961).
[116] These excavations and surveys were often conducted by early explorers and the French military, see the graph in Camps detailing the academic interest prior to 1950, (1961), 22, Fig.1. See also Letourneaux (1865, 1868); Faidherbe (1867); Deyrolle (1904, 1909a, 1909b) for early publications on the funerary archaeology.
[117] See for example Ferchiou (1987, 1990, 1991, 1994).

covering a wide chronology in the Maghreb funerary archaeology, from pre-historic times to the Roman period.[118]

Some of the earliest scientific excavations in the eastern Maghreb were conducted by Daniels from the 1950s to 1970s and these have formed the basis for later studies in this region. Studies building on this early investigation have allowed a more in-depth understanding on a case-study basis of ancient communities living in the Fewet Oasis, the Wadi Tanezzuft Valley, and the Fazzan.[119] These publications cover a diverse range of aspects of prehistoric life and death in these regions, including agricultural infrastructure and funerary remains, proving the value of revisiting and reanalysing these areas on a broad and all-encompassing scope. While this direction in the archaeology of North Africa has helped to re-focus scholarly attention on the pre-Roman period, an often overlooked area of examination, access to many sites remains a problem. In Libya, instability makes new archaeological investigation and even site visits impossible. The warning against non-essential travel to Algeria has largely been lifted which has created a gradual yet important uptick in access, but more work is needed in the way of new archaeological exploration. Even in Tunisia, the key site of Chemtou was closed to the public as recently as May 2018 due to civil unrest and insecurity. While Roman period settlements have continued to be the focus of excavation efforts, in recent times there has been a regeneration of interest and exploration of pre-Roman sites.[120] Therefore, apart from a few recent publications devoted specifically to the indigenous inhabitants and their archaeology, research is to a large extent dependent on pre-independence publications and excavation reports.

[118] Stone and Stirling (2007).
[119] For Fewet see Mori (2013); for Wadi Tanezzuft see Di Lernia and Manzi (2002a); for the Fazzan see the publications of Mattingly et al. (2003, 2007, 2010, 2013a), which cover the work of the Fazzan Project (1997-2001).
[120] This includes the ongoing German-Tunisian project at Dougga, studying the site from its prehistoric roots to Late Antiquity, see for instance Khanoussi et al. (2004); and at Chemtou, see von Rummell (2016). As of May 2018 work was being conducted at the north-western edge of Dougga at the site of numerous megalithic burials.

This is not to say that the data that has already been collected cannot be used, rather that new approaches to understanding what this data means need to be applied.

For the purpose of this current study, the analysis of the archaeological remains through the lens of recent developments in mortuary studies and theories will be applied, an avenue of analysis not previously attempted in the ancient Maghreb. This area of investigation has proven to be fruitful for other Mediterranean funerary and ritual sites including those on Malta, Sardinia, and Crete.[121] In addition, comparative examples of the British Neolithic and even Indonesia have been used in places such as Sardinia to offer new perspectives of analysis. This includes the work of Robin, where the presence of decorative elements can be used to further explore the role of monumental megalithic architecture in these very different regions.[122] By using cross-cultural approaches and theories, these somewhat unique archaeological records can be analysed in a more anthropocentric way, going beyond the simple identification and labelling of structures to an understanding of how these tombs functioned as part of the human experience and what they can inform us about that experience. This use of experiential archaeology, aspects that are informed by and dependent on the human experience, forms the greatest contribution of this current study to the scholarship of indigenous death and burial in the ancient Maghreb. Through the application of the recent developments in mortuary archaeology, landscape archaeology, and sense archaeology, and socio-anthropological theories, these structures can be placed back into their human context as part of the lived environment, offering insight into their contemporary functions beyond the disposal of the deceased.

1.3a. Mortuary archaeology

The study of the deceased and the way they are dealt with in a society, can offer key insights into the way that society conducted itself in life. One of the most influential

[121] For Malta and Sardinia see Skeates (2010, 2016); for Crete see Hamilakis (2013).
[122] Robin (2010, 2014, 2016, 2017).

studies focused on this topic is Saxe's doctoral thesis wherein he attempted to create a universal approach to analysing and understanding mortuary practices across diverse periods and cultures in widely-referenced hypotheses. Through these hypotheses Saxe succeeded in showing how social determinants and 'facts', such as the expression of status, inform the material articulation of mortuary practices and can be used to analyse and comprehend cross-cultural behaviour in funerary studies.[123] Binford further developed the understanding of the relationship between mortuary expressions and lived social dynamics, arguing that funerary archaeology can be better understood through an analysis and comprehension of the contemporary community and its interactions.[124] The subsequent work by Tainter and Chapman saw the continued application and refining of these approaches to mortuary analysis, resulting in a number of influential publications with regards to the role of funerary practices in daily life.[125] For instance, Tainter focused on the link between burial patterns and social stratification, as well as the relationship between joint degeneration and social status, while Chapman analysed the territorial and spatial aspects of megalithic burials and how this can reflect socio-political traits.[126] O'Shea takes this universal framework further still, balancing expectations with exceptions to these rules (as expanded on in Table 3), allowing for a cross-cultural analysis of funerary behaviour that takes into consideration cultural deviation and diversity.[127] Included in this lived experience are the approaches of landscape and sense archaeology. In each case the experience of the living in the constructed world of the dead offers an insight into the intersection of the liminal spaces of these two realms.

[123] Saxe (1970).
[124] Binford (1971).
[125] See for example Tainter (1975, 1978, 1980); Chapman (1977, 1981, 1983, 1995, 2003).
[126] Tainter (1975, 1980); Chapman (1995).
[127] O'Shea (1984).

1.3b. Landscape archaeology

Landscape archaeology centres on the way in which the landscape and terrain was responded to and formed part of not only the physical aspects of human behaviour but also the symbolic communication. Physically, tombs formed part of the visible reality of the ancient Maghreb while symbolically they could be used to express certain messages about those who created and were buried in these tombs. By focussing on the aspects of territoriality and the marking of passages through the terrain, landscape archaeology can inform us of the way in which tombs were used as a physical response to the environment. By placing structures in visible locations and by using a shared and recognisable architectural format, tombs could inform travellers of territorial boundaries, safe routes of passage, as well as points of gathering for trade and transactions as will be demonstrated in Chapter 3. This overlapping of functionality beyond the disposal of the dead is also extended to the more ritualised elements of construction through aspects such as archaeoastronomy. This is a fairly recent development in the scientific study of ancient ritual archaeology and takes into consideration the orientation of tombs and ritual spaces, which indicate a link to significant celestial bodies or solar and lunar events. For the Mediterranean and North Africa, the most significant work on this topic has been completed by Belmonte et al., Esteban et al., Santucci and Khoumeri, and Hoskin who have demonstrated the dominant orientations associated with ritual structures.[128] Covering various pertinent regions and archaeological remains, these studies demonstrate that the orientations of tombs and temples appear to follow shared trends and traditions linking their alignment with solstices and to certain stars as will be shown in Chapter 3. The extent to which this particular factor played a role in the wider megalithic tradition in North Africa would depend on more extensive excavations, the likes of which have not yet been established in the Maghreb. However, this still creates a deeper connection

[128] Midgely (2011); Furholt (2011); Blemonte et al. (1998, 1999); Esteban et al. (2001); Santucci and Khoumeri (2008); Hoskin (2001).

between the construction of the tombs, their occupants, and their designers, implying these structures were not merely copies of preceding tomb types but were individualised, emphasising the human story behind their creation and use. This human element can also be explored through the physical experience of these structures through sense archaeology.

1.3c. Sense archaeology

Sense archaeology goes beyond the 'bricks and mortar' in analysing the experiential dynamics of human-material interaction, be it tactile, aural, visual, olfactory, or gustatory. While not every level of analysis is possible, this still offers at least a new perspective which focusses on the lived experience in the construction of and engagement with the funerary landscape in its ancient setting. This analysis requires the investigator to attempt to place themself into the contemporaneous reality of the structure and its user. For the ancient Maghreb this includes approaching the tomb, being aware of the various impacts on the senses either through visual appreciation, physical exertion such as bending, climbing, or stretching, or even simply a sense of awe from the setting. As a relatively new concept in the analysis of architectural archaeology, the approach of sense archaeology has not yet been sufficiently applied to the funerary remains of the ancient Maghreb. Comparable regions that have benefitted from the approach of sense archaeology are ancient Malta and Sardinia, through the work of Skeats, and Crete, covered by Hamilakis.[129] As the enigmatic remains of these islands have resulted in more questions than answers as to their creation and use, this form of analysis and examination has offered interesting and certainly beneficial results by creating an awareness of the lived experience of these structures and their environments. This takes the analysis beyond the somewhat superficial engagement with the physical archaeological remains and places the

[129] Skeates (2010, 2016); Hamilakis (2013). This approach has also been used in the study of ancient Mesoamerica, Houston and Taube (2000).

investigator as close as possible to the contemporary milieu of the structures. Theoretical frameworks pertaining to this approach, more specifically phenomenology, have also been developed by Tilley and Hamilton et al. in an attempt to bring this approach in line with other more scientific methods.[130] Phenomenology, based in philosophy, encompasses sense archaeology among other aspects such as landscape archaeology. This theoretical approach centres on, in essence, quantifying the human experience of being and consciousness in a given space and reality.[131] As seen through sense archaeology, this allows the analysis to take into consideration not only the finished product of material culture but the motivations and choices behind it. Sense archaeology, which in this thesis will be used to analyse the motivations leading to a specific funerary landscape, is certainly valuable when investigating the archaeological remains of the ancient Maghreb. This will be achieved in Chapter 3 by analysing the physical and ritual needs of the inhabitants of the ancient Maghreb which would have resulted in specific motivations which informed construction patterns, such as location and materiality choices. By placing these archaeological remains into their lived environment, including their spiritual and ritualistic significance, a new approach to these structures can be taken, contributing to the existing scholarship. This would need to be done in a very chronologically sensitive way as misplaced anachronistic perceptions and concepts would undermine any results, reducing their accuracy and value. It is for this reason that sense archaeology needs to be used alongside and not instead of other forms of investigation, leading to more well-rounded results. This will be in combination with the recent development of theoretical applications to the study of archaeology with regards to the consequences of contact and cultural exchange.

[130] Tilley (2004); Hamilton et al. (2006).
[131] See Barrett and Ko (2009) on the critiques, limitations, and potential of phenomenology.

1.4. Theoretical approaches: globalization and creolization

The application of various theories to the study and analysis of archaeology has a relatively long history. With the development of modern archaeological scholarship from the second half of the 19th century, scholars have used a variety of theoretical approaches in order to understand archaeological remains associated with pre-literate societies. A number of publications have neatly summarised these methods, with Hodder and Hutson offering a recent discussion of these approaches in archaeological scholarship.[132] Recently, there has been an increase in the application of more modern social theories to the study of archaeological remains for specific contexts, circumstances, and questions, specifically globalization, an approach not yet taken with regards to the ancient Maghreb. Globalization is the increase in contact and connectivity between previously un- or little connected regions and peoples, resulting in shared cultural traits that do not stem from a single source but rather the combining and reforming of multiple sources. Creolization is then the resultant generation of new cultural expressions from these interactions, through cultural negotiation.[133] The most recent look at this topic is an edited volume by Hodos, while Jennings focusses more specifically on the technical way globalization can be detected and essentially mapped in ancient societies.[134] The emphasis on the lived experience of cultural contact and exchange in the ancient Maghreb and the local reaction to these developments is an important factor in further developing the study of the funerary archaeology of this region. This extends to the social impact of this growing globalization, resulting in creolization and the development of a relatively new diverse social and cultural reality in the later first millennium BCE and beyond. Webster's use of this theoretical approach to the cultural change seen in Roman Britain offers a comparable case study

[132] Hodder and Hutson (2003).
[133] See Chapters 4 and 5 for a complete discussion.
[134] Hodos (2017b, see also 2009, 2010a, 2010b); Jennings (2011, 2017).

for the ancient Maghreb.[135] This approach focusses less on cultural interaction as defensive, resistant, or in opposition, but rather as a pragmatic and organic process of exchange and incorporation.

The combination of these experiential approaches throughout this current study with the socio-political dynamics of the ancient Maghreb, will develop the comprehension and analysis of the North African tombs beyond the current level of scholarship, which is largely centred on their physical construction and appearance. By including the human experience as an important element of the development of indigenous funerary archaeology in the ancient Maghreb, from the early years of megalithic construction to the so-called royal Numidian funerary architecture and beyond, this thesis will compliment and contribute to the existing scholarship. Not only does this bring North African archaeology alongside wider recent archaeological investigation, but also offers potential avenues of analysis for other archaeological questions. The next chapter will detail the current scholarship and interpretation of the later first millennium BCE funerary archaeology associated with the indigenous kingdoms of the ancient Maghreb. This will highlight not only the progress made to date but also introduce the underexplored aspects to be focussed on throughout this thesis.

[135] Webster (2001, 2005).

Chapter 2: The Elite Amazigh Monuments of the Hellenistic Maghreb

During the Hellenistic period of the Mediterranean world, enigmatic monumental structures, frequently associated with the Amazigh elite, were constructed throughout the Maghreb. Predominantly of a funerary nature, they can be divided into three groups: tumuli, tower tombs, and peak monuments. Garnering attention due to their appearance and apparent break from tradition, these monuments have led to a variety of interpretations over the years. The structures that are most often focussed on are the Medracen and Kbor er Roumia monumental tumuli; the tower tombs of Dougga, Es Soumaa, Beni Rhenane, Sabratha B, and Henchir Bourgou; and the Chemtou and Kbor Klib peak monuments. In Section A of this chapter, the architectural elements of each structure will be briefly outlined before an introduction to some of the prevailing arguments and interpretations of these monuments is given in Section B. While some arguments pertain to individual monuments, others analyse the structures as a group with a somewhat homogenous reading. The merits and faults of this approach will be discussed. Attention will also be given to the general setting of each structure, its orientation, and the topographical surrounds. This chapter therefore serves to highlight the current status of research related to the monumental Hellenistic period structures and how this has impacted upon the general comprehension of the indigenous population of the ancient Maghreb and their architectural practices and traditions.

Section A: The archaeological remains

2A.1. Tumuli

The Medracen

Approximately 30 km northeast of modern day Batna (Algeria), the Medracen (Fig.2.1), alternatively but rarely the Medghasen, lies on an ancient route from the coast to the

Sahara.[136] Between the Djebels Azem and Tafraout (both rising about 150 m), the tomb sits atop rising land en route to the Sebkha Djendli, a large salt flat that holds seasonal water.[137] Upon approach, the Medracen is visible from a few kilometres away as the land dips around it, with Fentress referring to the tomb as "a giant haystack on a low hill".[138] At a volume of approximately 24 500 m^3, the tomb certainly suits its undulating setting where the flanking hills channel any travellers straight past the vast monument.

The dating of the Medracen through ^{14}C from wooden beam fragments and style places it no later than 200 BCE, with Camps arguing it could be dated to as early as the 4th century BCE.[139] Although looting has stripped the tomb of any movable remains, the well-carved ashlar structure is largely intact although highly weathered. The round base of the tomb is relatively low at only 4.5 m while the vast majority of the structure is a 23-stepped cone topped by a platform.[140] The external elements include 60 engaged Doric columns ringing the drum with a plain architrave and an Egyptian gorge comprising of a cavetto cornice above a torus moulding and below a flat lintel supporting the cone (Fig.2.2). While there are three false doors beneath the architrave, the true entrance to the tomb is hidden on the third tier of the cone and opens onto 11 internal steps. These descend inward to a corridor supported by cedar beams and props leading to the burial chamber which also incorporated cedar in the form of

[136] MacKendrick (1980), 190. The name Medghasen, which denotes the legendary descendants of Medghes, was in use from the 11th century CE by the Andalusian historian al-Bakri who referred to the tomb as Qabr Madghous, Gsell (1929b), 263; Levtzion and Hopkins (2000), 62.
[137] This is the ancient Lacus Regius, Gsell (1929b), 262; Camps (1973), 515.
[138] Camps (1973), 470; Fentress (1979), 56.
[139] Quinn (2013), 185, note 19; Camps (1973), 510-512. Coarelli and Thébert (1988), 765, link the construction of the Medracen to Gaia, Massinissa's father, while Camps (1973), 516, posits that it may even predate this Massyli king while also giving evidence for why he argues against the Medracen being a tomb for Syphax and the Masaesyli (1973), 512-516. Also noteworthy is Henri Marrou, who remains unconvinced that this was not a monument for Syphax in his short response cited at the end of Camps' article, Camps (1973), 517. Fentress (1979), 56, however, claims that the Massyli were not powerful enough in the 3rd century to command such resources for the construction and instead attributes the Medracen to the more southern Gaetuli. While this last theory has not had much traction, the Medracen is nevertheless been linked to indigenous Amazigh elites and not later colonial powers.
[140] Rakob (1979), 134, suggests a statue or a pyramid may have stood on this platform.

double doors (Fig.2.3).[141] To the west of the Medracen lie the ruined remains of an antechamber, while to the east, the direction to which the entrance faces, stood a vestibule which led to one of the false doors. It has been suggested that this vestibule was perhaps housing for the tomb keeper, which implies an ongoing interaction with the tumulus and its entombed.[142]

A paved area was also discovered in front of the Medracen and bears similarities to those found at Kbor er Roumia and the later Djedar tombs, where they also face east. This paving was placed directly on the ground and constructed of two layers of cut stone covered in red ochre. An ochre-covered arm from a stone statue was also discovered, which suggests a ritualistic function for the space.[143] A second ritual platform also to the east has been partly obscured by the later addition of a cemetery.[144] Today the Medracen stands amongst a variety of burials, "some in princely tumuli, some bodies buried face-down, like criminals" (Fig.2.4).[145] Gsell notes that many of these tumuli are "purely African" and most likely contain the remains of families and dependents, suggesting communal graves.[146] Two burials were found near to the Medracen, one of which occurred in a seated position with Roman era grave goods, including coins featuring Juba II who reigned from 25 BCE to 24 CE. The presence of later graves is similar at other large tombs, with the practice continuing into the 20th century.[147] The significance of the site has therefore persisted through the subsequent periods and cultural occupations. Although a somewhat unusual structure,

[141] Gsell (1929b), 263; MacKendrick (1980), 190-191; Rakob (1979), 132-134; Stone (2012). It is this cedar that allowed for ^{14}C tests to be conducted by the University of Arizona, Camps (1973), 510. For notes on Egyptian gorges see Curl (2006), 256.
[142] MacKendrick (1980), 191; Rakob (1979), 136; Camps (1973), 479.
[143] The ritual significance of ochre will be discussed further in Chapter 3 Section C.
[144] Camps (1973), 480-481. Red ochre has a long association with human burial and symbolic practices, Wreschner et al. (1980), 631; Hovers et al. (2003), 491. A more in depth discussion of the use of ochre in rituals and tombs will follow in Chapter 3.
[145] MacKendrick (1980), 191, makes this statement with no justification or explanation but it does indicate the apparent variety of tombs present.
[146] Gsell (1929b), 262.
[147] Camps (1973), 480; Roller (2003), ix.

the arrangement of the Medracen bears similarities to a second tumulus tomb, Kbor er Roumia.

Kbor er Roumia

Much like the Medracen, the name of this tomb has a unique history. While recognised by Pomponius Mela (1st century CE) as a tomb for royalty, the ancient author does not name the structure. The design of the false doors, which form a cross in the centre, gave rise to the widely used name le Tombeau de la Chrétienne, suggesting the last resting place of a Christian woman. However, no evidence in the tomb suggests this occupancy or era of construction.[148] The name Kbor er Roumia also suggests a foreign interment. While the literal translation is 'the tomb of the Roman woman', the meaning of the Arabic *Roumia* can differ. In Andalusia the term meant Christian, while in the east it implied Byzantine or Greek.[149] The common theme here suggests the early explorers of the tomb associated it with non-indigenous peoples living in North Africa at the time of the Arab conquest in the mid-seventh century CE as an Amazigh name for the tomb does not seem to have survived. However, the name Royal Mausoleum of Mauretania claims an indigenous and direct link to the kings without naming the specific deceased. It is interesting to note the deliberate change on the diagram dating to at least 1979 in Bouchenaki (Fig.2.8), where le Tombeau de la Chrétienne has been deleted in favour of the Mausolée Royal de Maurétanie. For convenience the widely used Kbor er Roumia will appear throughout this thesis.

Located near modern Tipasa in Algeria, it is believed that the Kbor er Roumia was inspired by the older Medracen (Fig.2.5).[150] Dating to the late 2nd or early 1st century BCE, the tomb has been linked to the reign of the Mauretanian King Bocchus I, or his son Bocchus II, after the area was annexed from the Numidian kingdom.[151] The

[148] Bouchenaki (1979), 9-11.
[149] Bouchenaki (1979), 11.
[150] Camps (1973), 474. A distance of about 360 km separates the Medracen and the Kbor er Roumia.
[151] Coarelli and Thébert (1988), 766; Quinn (2013), 186.

dynastic use of the tomb can be seen in Pomponius Mela's description of the structure as *monumentum commune regiae gentis*, a statement most likely referring to the Tipasa monument.[152] The argument has also been made that this is the tomb of Juba II and Cleopatra Selene.[153] While this is not strictly a Numidian structure, the Kbor er Roumia certainly shows an architectural link to the pre-existing Medracen tomb, and therefore its structural influences, and was similarly created by and for an Amazigh community. The construction of this tomb in once Numidian-occupied territory is also significant to its interpretation, suggesting a deliberate link to the former rulers and a continuation of their royal projections. What is different, however, is the Kbor er Roumia's size. While both the Medracen and the Tipasa tombs have similar circumferences of about 185 m, the Kbor er Roumia boasts a volume of 61 338 m^3.[154] Built of limestone, the drum is encircled by 60 engaged Ionic columns below a cyma recta cornice, is topped by a stepped cone, has false doors at the cardinal points, and the entire structure sits on a large square platform (Fig.2.6a and b). The real entrance into the structure is hidden behind large blocks below the east false door. The winding internal structure of the tomb is quite complicated and can be best understood with the use of a diagram in Fig.2.8.[155]

Traces of a smaller structure similar to that at the Medracen were found at the entrance to Kbor er Roumia (Fig.2.9 and C in Fig.2.8), which Bouchenaki suggests may have been a temple or an altar.[156] Christofle describes it as a funerary platform which appears to descend to the entrance of the tomb.[157] As very little remains, merely the foundation, it is difficult to determine whether this structure was part of the original

[152] Pomponius Mela is the only ancient author to refer to this tomb (*De Chorographia* 1.6.31), Silberman (1988), 121, note 11.
[153] Bouchenaki (1979), 24; Roller (2003), 129.
[154] Bouchenaki (1979), 9, claims this is 80 000 m^3 but this does not fit the dimensions of the structure. Interestingly, Bouchenaki's figure has been repeated by other scholars including Rakob (1979), 142 and MacKendrick (1980), 192.
[155] Bouchenaki (1979), 9; Mackendrick (1980), 192; Coarelli and Thébert (1988), 765-766.
[156] Bouchenaki (1979), 9.
[157] Christofle (1951), 112-120.

design of the tomb precinct or a later addition. However, the proximity, integration, and similar construction techniques with dovetailing suggest the two were contemporaneous. A second even smaller platform was found further to the east of the first platform (D in Fig.2.8).[158] Due to the positioning of the Kbor er Roumia, these platforms would have been the first structures encountered as one approached the tomb, implying that they would not have been incidental features but rather integral to the functioning of the site. The skill of the work within the tomb can be seen in the neat joins held with lead clamps and the smooth barrel vaults in the passages and chambers.[159] To the north west of the tomb there may have been a further structure or platform which could have been intentionally facing the hill Djebel Chenoua above Tipasa, a significant natural feature in the area. However, these remains are undated so this is impossible to verify.

Yet again, looting, emphasised by doors broken probably since antiquity, has left few remains to aid in the interpretation of this tomb.[160] According to Bouchenaki, ash urns, which have not survived, may have stored the cremated remains of the deceased in the three niches in the north, south, and west walls of the central chamber.[161] The only internal decorations in the tomb are a carved lioness and lion in middle relief above a side entrance in the vestibule (Fig.2.7). Lion imagery can be seen on the Dougga and Sabratha B towers discussed below, and was also a popular motif of Ancient Near Eastern art, usually in the context of entrances in palaces, temples, and city gates.[162] According to Strawn, in Near Eastern use, the direction of the lions can either indicate protection against an internal threat (inward facing), or an external threat (outward facing).[163] However, to suggest that the inward facing lions in the Kbor er Roumia were

[158] Christofle (1951), 120-121.
[159] Bouchenaki (1979), 15, 29.
[160] Bouchenaki (1979), 20.
[161] Bouchenaki (1979), 20.
[162] Strawn (2005), 217-226.
[163] Strawn (2005), 217. This protection of the living against the deceased can be seen in Hittite art, Cornelius (1989), 64.

to guard *against* the deceased indicates that, while a foreign motif can be adopted, its original meaning need not follow suit. As lions were widespread in the Maghreb, it could simply be a case of an indigenous symbol being represented in a format known to a foreign craftsman.[164] The lion was also a symbolic entrance guardian in Greek tradition while being used equally as a motif and an actual burial monument.[165] According to Vermuele, the lion in Greek cemeteries not only acted as a protector but also to emphasise "the courageous nobility of the deceased".[166]

While there seems to be a close link to the guardian-like leonine imagery in the Kbor er Roumia, the obvious reading of power and strength, characteristics most likely desired by the king, should also be considered.[167] Both lions appear to be in aggressive postures with their mouths open, while the animal on the left paws the air, tail raised. A further interesting point is the use of both a lion and lioness in the North African tomb. This could suggest a dynastic use regardless of gender, with both parties represented as powerful and important cultural figures.[168] It could also be argued that the animal on the left is in fact not a lioness at all, but rather a leopard. The spots would be difficult to see after years of exposure, but paint may have been applied like the ochre used in other parts of the tomb. Like the lion, leopards would have roamed the area, and probably caused problems for herders, so the imagery would certainly not be out of place in the Algerian setting.[169] This would further explain the aggressive stance of the animals, implying a fight between the two; the king (lion) defeating the aggressor (leopard). If this were the case, and both a leopard and a lion are

[164] Lion populations dwindled in North Africa from the 19th century onwards, Bauer and van der Merwe (2004), 26. Potential workforce and its implications will be discussed further in Chapter 5.
[165] Harden (2014), 35. The use of the lion as a Greek monument can be seen in the Kerameikos Cemetery with the grave plot of Dionysios of Kollytos, Vermeule (1972), 49, 54-55.
[166] Vermuele (1972), 59.
[167] Cornelius (1989), 55, 58, notes how the Near Eastern kings could also be represented *as* lions, imbuing the monarch with the animal's strength and power. Although neither linked chronologically nor geographically this may offer a further psycho-social element to be considered.
[168] Meroitic queens for instance were linked to lions, Cornelius (1989), 59.
[169] Uphyrkina et al. (2001), 2617.

represented, the message of power and strength is certainly further enhanced. The rampant posture of these two felines is also remarkably similar to the famous prehistoric fighting cats rendered in a rock carving in the Messak Settafet in Libya.[170] Here too, cat figures face each other in an aggressive pose and could link Kbor er Roumia to an even more ancient motif and very long tradition of representation. Leopard imagery is also known from prehistoric rock paintings where spots were only applied to the face.[171] The context of this rock art remains obscure but the workmanship and energy required would elevate it above a casual piece. The positioning of the animals above the entrance to the gallery, which eventually leads to the burial chamber, may indicate a boundary between the profane and the spiritual with the felines acting as a warning to those who should not proceed further into the tomb. As Bouchenaki notes, the doorways would have been closed with slabs operated by levers, implying the path to the burial chamber was not an openly accessible route and one that only few could complete. Bouchenaki also posits that the hidden entrance could have prohibited casual access while the sweeping gallery suggests a ritual procession.[172] This combination of prohibitive secrecy and projected strength serves only to emphasise the sacred nature of the structure and the importance of its occupants.

Unlike the Medracen, the Kbor er Roumia stands isolated on its hill with no surrounding tombs. However, the sheer size and uniqueness of these structures convinces Gsell that both are tombs of powerful kings.[173] The tomb holds a commanding view out to sea and is visible to sailors and fishermen, therefore offering a point of reference from all approaches.[174] An aspect that certainly emphasises the desire for sheer mass and prominence of these two tombs is the clear excessive construction where the volumes

[170] African Rock Art Image Project (no date), 2013,2034.2761.
[171] Griesson (1973-1975), 128, notes this at the site of Ait Bou Ichaouen, eastern Morocco.
[172] Bouchenaki (1979), 13, 15, 20.
[173] He describes this setting as “une solitude sauvage”, Gsell (1929b), 262.
[174] Bouchenaki (1979), 7.

of the tombs far exceed that of their burial chambers, their only obvious function. This therefore suggests that not only the burial itself but the entire structure formed an important part in the social tradition. If the sole purpose of the tombs were simply burial, the dimensions required would be greatly reduced.

As previously mentioned, the Late Antique Djedars (alternatively Jeddars) appear to show similarities to the Medracen and Kbor er Roumia (Fig.2.10). Thirteen of these tombs were found between Tiaret and Frenda in central Algeria, and date to the first half of the 5th century CE through ^{14}C of a wooden coffin fragment.[175] This continuation, or even revival, of Rakob's "pyramidal crown" indicates the significance of the design in articulating a specific tradition.[176] Links to the interment of noble families, with the presence of multiple internal chambers with funerary benches (Fig.2.11), supports the ongoing practice of prominent individuals buried in tumuli-like structures.[177] This is also true for the importance placed on visibility in the landscape as these later tombs were positioned on the Djebels Lakhdar and Araoui, where some appear to be extensions of the hills themselves.[178] This interaction with the surroundings is not limited to the tumuli and other structures that certainly placed emphasis on visibility and prominence are the tower tombs scattered across the Maghreb.

2A.2. Tower tombs

Where the Hellenistic tumuli are striking for their sheer volume, the tower tombs are noteworthy for their height and often detailed decoration. The discussion of these tombs will start with one of the better preserved towers at Dougga, which underwent reconstruction and is perhaps the earliest tower tomb.[179] This will be followed by two

[175] Camps (1973), 472; Camps (1995a). The main distinction between the structures of these tombs is that the Djedars are rectangular while the Medracen and Kbor er Roumia are round. For a further discussion on Djedars and the later Amazigh tradition see Kadra (1979), 263-284.
[176] Rakob (1983), 332.
[177] Camps (1995a), 12.
[178] Kadra (1979), 264.
[179] Quinn (2013), 183.

other towers associated with Amazigh elites, Es Soumaa and Beni Rhenane, before the discussion turns to those that show seemingly greater foreign influence and are located further from the centre of traditional Amazigh control, namely Sabratha B and Henchir Bourgou.

Dougga

Near modern Teboursouk in Tunisia, and in the south of Roman Thugga, stands the Dougga tower tomb dating to the late 3rd century BCE (Fig.2.12).[180] The tower consists of three distinct levels all made of neatly cut stone. The walls of the tower are not uniformly constructed but rather in *opus pseudisodomum,* alternating between wide and narrow blocks running in regular courses and, while the interior and exterior walls are ashlar blocks, the filling is rubble.[181] The structure stands on a square base of six narrow steps where the first level begins. The corners of this floor are decorated with Aeolic pilasters, the volutes of which each hold a lotus flower. All four sides of this level include a framed rectangular window, three of which are false while the north facing one stands open having once been closed with a slab and through which a burial chamber is accessed.[182] The height of these openings implies that ladders and ropes would probably have been used in gaining access and placing remains. This latter technique may be supported by the worn lintel of the lower opening (Fig.2.13). Above the pilasters and windows is a simple architrave consisting of a single fascia or corona and very damaged moulding which appears to be a narrow cavetto cornice. The second floor starts with three steps, similar to those of the base, upon which the next block stands. This section includes 12 fluted and engaged Ionic columns; two on each side and one with an angle-capital at each corner. Only one of these corner columns, the north eastern, has been restored. Between the two columns of the north and east sides

[180] This dating is based on architectural style and the Punic script of a bilingual inscription which will be discussed further, Quinn (2013), 183.
[181] Gsell (1929b) 253, note 2; Poinssot (1983), 58; see Curl (2006), 539 for further notes on *opus pseudisodomum*.
[182] Poinssot (1983), 58.

there are small, framed rectangular doors, of similar dimensions to the windows below, which were also closed with slabs. Only the north facing door has been reconstructed while the east is only a blank wall.[183] Above the columns, the architrave is topped with an Egyptian gorge, similar to that of the Medracen and Kbor er Roumia.

The third and final stage of the Dougga tower is the most elaborate and complex. Once again three-steps form the base resting directly on the cavetto cornice. However, each corner of this base juts out diagonally to the height of the top step but does not reach the corner of the cornice below. These four blocks form pedestals for sculpted horsemen which face outwards at each corner, of which two have been partially restored. This final floor is narrower than those below and, similar to the first floor, has Aeolic pilasters at each corner with lotus flowers. Four quadriga, all preserved, are carved in middle relief on each side between the bases of the pilasters (Fig.2.14). Each quadriga contains two occupants, which Poinssot is certain are a charioteer and the deceased.[184] This implies that each chariot is identical and contains the same individuals, or that four separate burials were intended for the tomb. This dynastic intention is supported by the multiple burial chambers within the tower (Fig.2.15).[185] Poinssot also posits that this group of horsemen and charioteers represents the retinue that would accompany the deceased to heaven.[186] However, the horse has a long tradition in ancient North Africa, including the famous Numidian cavalry as discussed in Chapter 1. The combination of the quadriga and the four riders at each corner gives the impression of a cavalry battle scene or a general display of resources and wealth. Here Quinn draws a close comparison to chariots on coins produced in the Persian Empire (Fig.2.16), as well as at 3rd century BCE Rome where Jupiter appears in a similar

[183] Poinssot (1983), 58. Poinssot refers to these openings on the second floor as windows but their positioning at the base of the columns give the impression of doorways and therefore an overall facade of a temple in miniature.
[184] Poinssot (1983), 58, note 1.
[185] Poinssot and Salomonson detail the construction of these chambers as directed by the notes of Count Camille Borgia who travelled to Tunisia in the early 19th century, (1959), 141-146.
[186] Poinssot (1983), 58-59.

quadriga (Fig.2.17).[187] Indigenous comparisons are also made including the Chemtou Horseman (Fig.1.1), the Chieftain Stele of Grand Kabylie (Fig.2.18), and the use of horses on Numidian coins (Fig.1.2).[188] While the spiritual retinue theory is certainly not without merit, the more literal association with horses in the ancient Maghreb should not be ignored as very little is known about the indigenous beliefs in the afterlife.

Above the pilasters is a cavetto cornice, this time without the torus moulding, and a sharp, short pyramid. At the corners of the pyramids are four sculpted sirens each of which holds a ball in their left hand and are attached to the structure by the base of their wings. According to Pollard, the origin of the custom of siren statues in Greek cemeteries is unknown but posits it was adopted from eastern cultures.[189] This is supported by Draycott who argues that the winged females on the Harpy Monument, a pillar tomb at Xanthos in Asia Minor, are in fact sirens who reside in the underworld (Fig.2.19 and 2.20).[190] These beings have also been linked by Ovid to Persephone, *in comitum numero*, and it could therefore be argued that the orbs held in the Dougga figures' left hands are pomegranates, as opposed to their more usual interpretation as musical instruments.[191] The pyramid above the sirens is finally topped with a seated lion sculpture that was found at the base of the tower (Fig.2.20).[192] The placing of this lion is speculative and may have been influenced by the lion that surmounted the pyramid at the top of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus.[193] While Poinssot claims this lion symbolises the sun and heaven, it is more likely a guardian of the tomb as seen at Kbor er Roumia.[194] While the tumulus' felines protect that which lies behind them, the lion can also symbolise a protector of that beneath it.[195] This would be more fitting in

[187] Quinn (2013), 181.
[188] Quinn (2013), 195, 202-203.
[189] Pollard (1952), 63.
[190] Draycott (2008), 148.
[191] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 5.555; Draycott (2008), 148.
[192] Poinssot (1983), 58.
[193] Vermeule (1972), 54.
[194] Poinssot (1983), 59.
[195] Strawn (2005), 225.

the case of the Dougga tower. An additional interpretation could be the control of the lion, which also fits into Near Eastern heroic power symbolism, as the lions are depicted in the service of the interred.[196] This would further emphasise the deceased's social and even political status.

A further intriguing structure is an altar that Poinssot suggests may have been associated with the tower tomb. Unfortunately, he gives no further details as to its design or location, only drawing a comparison with the Punic altar graffiti found in rock-cut chambers at Djebel Mlezza (Fig.2.21).[197] Upon inspecting the area around the tower, the location of Poinssot's altar is still unclear and it may have been disturbed or destroyed since the 1980s. If the altar were in fact contemporaneous with the tomb, a further comparison can be made with the so-called ritual platforms found at the Medracen and the Kbor er Roumia indicating a continued interaction with the tower. An equally interesting element, and one that offers an insight into the interpretation of the tower tomb, is the accompanying inscription originally placed next to the eastern window of the first floor, which indicates that the tomb was either dedicated to or by an individual named Atban (Fig.2.22).[198] This inscription will be discussed further in a wider analysis of bilingualism in the Numidian kingdom and amongst the indigenous populations of the Maghreb. According to Poinssot and Salomonson, Count Camille Borgia suggested a second inscription, now lost, which may have appeared opposite the first as dictated by symmetry.[199]

A sketch by Bruce in 1765 shows how much of the tower still remained (Fig.2.23), but it was left in almost complete ruin when Sir Thomas Read, the English Consul-General of Tunis, demolished much of the structure to retrieve the bilingual inscription in 1842

[196] Arbuckle (2012), 218. The more usual motif of control is bare-handed, physical restraint, Strawn (2005), 154, but the same could be said of a lion used like a personal watch dog.
[197] Poinssot (1983), 59.
[198] Quinn (2013), 179-183, 197. Rakob (1983), 335, names Atban as the architect of this tomb. The dating of the tower was based not only on the style of the structure but also on the Punic script of this inscription, Quinn (2013), 183.
[199] Poinssot and Salomonson (1959), 147.

(Fig.2.24).[200] Fortunately, reconstruction of the tower under Louis Poinssot was started in 1908 continuing for two years and the tower now stands 21 m high.[201] This inscription, although heavily damaged, specifies that the tomb was dedicated to Atban ('TBN), an elite individual in ancient Dougga, listing famlilial links to Iepmatath and Palu, as well as listing those responsible for the stone masonry, carpentry, and iron work of the tomb.[202] What the inscription also suggests is that the elaborate and large tombs being constructed during the Hellenistic period were not limited to royalty but included the wealthy elite. The overall setting of the Dougga tower is rather interesting as it is located on the opposite end of the town to the pre-Roman megalithic necropolis (Fig.2.25). This necropolis lies to the north of the settlement while the tower is in the south (Fig.2.26).[203] This apparent disassociation with the potentially pre-existing necropolis may indicate a break from tradition or pertain to the fact that this tower is not linked to indigenous royalty, placing it in the private instead of public sphere. The commanding view that the tower has, as well as the unbroken line of sight of the tower from the valley below, may very well have been an influencing factor as this tomb was certainly built to be seen from a great distance.

Es Soumaa

Although the Dougga tower may not show a clear link to royalty, a tomb that is traditionally attributed to the Numidian kings is that of Es Soumaa at El Khroub.[204] Near the royal Numidian capital of Cirta, lie the remains of the once 30 m tall tower tomb. Dating to the late 2nd century BCE, this is one of the later towers and may have been the tomb of Massinissa, although the dating is more suited to Micipsa.[205] Es Soumaa,

[200] Bruce (1790), xxiii, describes the site as "a large scene of ruins".
[201] Poinssot (1910), 780; Quinn (2013), 179.
[202] Camps (1989).
[203] This is predominantly a dolmen necropolis.
[204] The meaning of 'Soumaa' could be derived from the Arabic سماء which translates as sky, heaven, or vault, while the verb similar to this noun سما means to tower, which is fitting for this tomb.
[205] Rakob (1983), 335; Coarelli and Thébert (1988), 776; Prados Martínez (2008), 172; Quinn (2013), 184. The dating of the tomb is through the grave goods which had fortunately not been looted when

standing on a hill, has a commanding view of the surrounding land including the settlements nearby and perhaps even its own quarry to the north. Based on the reconstruction proposed by Rakob (Fig.2.27), the tower, similar to Dougga, consisted of a number of floors each with complex architectural elements.[206] It starts with a double-layered square base before three regular steps support the first floor. This level is largely of a low base with cyma recta moulding at the top upon which a further step was placed. The block here is constructed in *opus quadratum* with a false door on each side where the central mullion and cross rail form a design similar to that of the Kbor er Roumia's doors. Each door had an architrave topped with a cavetto cornice, was preceded by a small step, and was flanked by round, shield-like elements (Fig.2.28).[207] This level was completed with an Egyptian gorge. A further base stood above this with moulding at each end, the top moulding being cyma recta, upon which freestanding columns stood around a central block. The proposed reconstructions of these columns differs as Rakob offers two central and two corner columns in the Doric order, unusually on bases, while Ravoisié, as referenced by Rakob, posits instead a single central column and two corner columns in true Doric order (Fig.2.29), both giving the impression of a Classical temple facade.[208] As Prados Martínez notes, this along with Henchir Bourgou, is the only tower tomb to include free standing columns on a podium.[209] Above this was a simple entablature including an architrave and five triglyphs beneath a low-pitched, undecorated pediment. A final base stood on top of this with a cavetto cornice three-quarters of the way up, and a second cavetto at the

excavations began, Quinn (2013), 184, note 15. Details of the grave goods are discussed by various scholars in Horn and Rüger (1979), 287-382.

[206] Rakob (1979), 160, figure 87.

[207] These measure 1.25 m in diameter with a projection of 10 cm, Bonnell (1916), 173.

[208] Rakob (1979), 160-161, 165; Bonnell (1916), 169.

[209] Prados Martínez (2008), 172.

top, surmounted by a steep pyramid.[210] All that remains today are the sections beneath the false doors and the walls that would have flanked these doors.[211]

A distinguishing factor with Es Soumaa, compared to the Dougga tower, is that it was built directly on top of the grave. This closed it permanently, prohibiting subsequent burials, and also saving it from looting. Among the artefacts within, two male cremations of an adult and an adolescent were found, possibly indicating the remains of Micipsa's murdered son Hiempsal, both having died in c. 118 BCE, the son after the father.[212] This double interment suggests that the tomb was only constructed after the death of Hiempsal, with Micipsa's ashes being stored elsewhere first. This north east orientated chamber is located 1.5 m below the base with a vaulted ceiling made of very large voussoirs and key stones.[213] Other objects found in the cavern included weapons and a tunic.[214] A second differing factor compared to the tomb above is that Es Soumaa is less ornate, with greater emphasis on architectural elements rather than sculpted decoration. This is not limited to the El Khroub tower and a similar moderation can be seen in the Beni Rhenane tomb.

Beni Rhenane

Placed on top of Djebel Skouna near Siga in western Algeria, this tower tomb has a commanding view of the surrounding valley and out towards the sea.[215] Although Siga

[210] This 9 m pyramid may have been surmounted by a bronze statue, fragments of which may have been found at the base of the ruin, Rakob (1983), 335. Ravoisié's reconstruction does not include this pyramid, which Lancel (1997), 316, finds questionable.
[211] The *in situ* reconstruction that survives today occurred between November 1915 and May 1916, Bonnell (1916) 167-178.
[212] Rakob (1983), 335-336. Three intact urns were found with the remains of three more in an underground chamber below the tower. Two broken urns were also discovered containing evidence for cremation, Bonnell (1916), 168-169.
[213] Bonnell (1916), 171-172.
[214] Bonnell (1916), 172.
[215] In local tradition the site, called the Butte aux Mariages or Marriages Mound, is circled a number of times by the groom to ensure fidelity in the union. Now it is known by the name of the nearest farm, Vuillemot (1964), 71-72. This clearly indicates that although the true history of the structure has been obscured by time, the significance of the site persists.

was at certain times the royal capital of both Syphax and his rival Massinissa, Prados Martínez argues the tomb was constructed by the Masaesylii prince Vermina (c.201 – 191 BCE), Syphax's son, and was modelled on the tomb of Alexander the Great.[216] What remains is that the tower was created by and for indigenous Amazigh royalty in the late 3rd to early 2nd century BCE. Interestingly, Vuillemot compares this tower to those of Andalusia, but Prados Martínez considers the chronology an "unbridgeable difference" with the Andalusian structures dating to the 6th century BCE.[217] He does, however, state that an important Phoenician and Punic coastal settlement was also present at nearby Rachgoun, which might explain the apparent foreign influence.[218]

While in ruins today, the tower may have stood at 30 m with a diameter between 17 and 18 m. An interesting and seemingly new design is the hexagonal plan which alternates between three flat and three concave sides. According to Rakob's reconstruction, the tower was divided into three levels (Fig.2.30 and Fig.2.31). The first stood on a three-stepped base and was topped by an Egyptian gorge upon which the next level stood on a single step. This second floor included a false door on each of the three flat sides. These were flanked by engaged Ionic columns and topped with a simple architrave and a second Egyptian gorge. This level again ends with an Egyptian gorge below three steps which support the final level. This consists of an undecorated base with a further Egyptian gorge and a pyramid which may have been surmounted by a statue.[219] What is immediately obvious is the relative lack of embellishments compared to the above-mentioned towers. Based on style and pottery, the tower can be dated to c.200 BCE with multiple hypogea probably for dynastic burial.[220] These chambers were arranged next to each other around the base of the tower, not directly beneath it, and were accessed through three entrances at the northwest, west, and

[216] Rakob (1979), 149; (1983), 334; Prados Martínez (2008), 170.
[217] Vuillemot (1964), 72; Prados Martínez (2008), 170, translated from the Spanish.
[218] Prados Martínez (2008), 170.
[219] Rakob (1979), 150-151.
[220] Quinn (2013), 184, note 16; Rakob (1983), 334. Vuillemot (1964), 80, gives the dimensions of ten underground chambers.

southeast. Any form of ritual procession prior to burial would have been unlikely as not all of the chambers were connected, instead forming sections of individual rooms, rather than a continuous passage. These chambers were of the same height and width with varying lengths as illustrated in Fig.2.32.[221] The lack of connection between the burial chambers suggests they could be individual tombs within the larger tower superstructure. This grouping of burials is continued outwith the tower's own construction as, like the other monumental Hellenistic structures, the Beni Rhenane tower is surrounded by a necropolis which includes small tumuli made of porous travertine from a nearby quarry, the same material as the tower tomb. Six of these are visible in the immediate vicinity of the tower for which Rakob notes the similarity to the surrounds of the Medracen.[222] A further intriguing element was the discovery of two travertine heads. Vuillemot posits that one of these heads may be that of an indigenous deity (Fig.2.33), bearing little resemblance to any known monarch from coinage.[223] However, Rakob argues that this is a female head, and adds that a second head, this time male (Fig.2.34), was also found to the northeast of the tower and must be associated with the first.[224] These may have been affixed with a clamp to the structure but exactly where is still uncertain, while their excessive weathering limits any deeper analysis.[225] The gender of the heads does not necessarily imply they are not deities as the representation of indigenous gods includes both male and female figures.[226]

Similar to the tombs already discussed, a paved area was uncovered to the east of the tower, while the remains of what might be a building were found at the western

[221] Vuillemot (1964), 80, 86, notes how two thick walls that separated chamber IV from V and chamber IX from X were only broken through by looters in the Middle Ages as evidenced by pottery left behind dating to this period.
[222] Vuillemot (1964), 72; Rakob (1979), 150; (1983), 334.
[223] Vuillemot (1964), 78-79.
[224] Rakob (1979), 151, 458-461.
[225] Vuillemot (1964), 78-79. It is this statue Rakob (1979), 151, suggests may have stood on top of the pyramid.
[226] Fentress (1978).

entrance (B in Fig.2.32). Vuillemot posits that this building, as indicated by its foundations, may have been a shelter for a tomb guardian, as similarly suggested for the Medracen.[227] It is also interesting to note the similar arrangement of structures nearby the Medracen and at Beni Rhenane with ruins found on the east and west sides. With regards to the overall impression of the towers, it has been suggested that they are linked to the Syro-Palestinian *nephesh* tradition, graveless, stele-like memorials to the dead.[228] Rakob counters this argument claiming the Near Eastern burials did not occur beneath the tower as in the North African cases and were more memorial than grave.[229] While certain cases in Syria in the 2nd century BCE were not associated with graves, the *nephesh* in earlier traditions, such as at 4th century BCE Phoenician Amrit, did in fact mark a burial and stand as a representation of a single deceased often indicated by name and a portrait (Fig.2.35).[230] Where a difference does occur is the use of the North African towers to mark multiple graves and conceivably whole cemeteries, something that did not occur in the Ancient Near East.[231] This, however, was not the case for all the North African tower tombs.

Sabratha B

A tower that does in fact resemble a *nephesh* is that of Sabratha B in the western Libyan coastal town of the same name. As Quinn notes, there is no evidence for a grave beneath the tower, so it is not a true mausoleum, and Lancel describes it as a commemorative monument rather than a funerary structure, fitting into the *nephesh* tradition.[232] Described by Rakob as baroque in style, the Sabratha B tower at its reconstructed height reaches 24 m and dates to the early 2nd century BCE.[233] While the

[227] Vuillemot (1964), 74, 79.
[228] Picard (1973), 31-35, discusses this comparison to the Near Eastern tradition.
[229] Rakob (1983), 334.
[230] Fattovich (1987), 45-46.
[231] This use can also be seen in the Aksumite tradition of Ethiopia, Fattovich (1987), 46, a comparison that will be discussed further in Chapter 3.
[232] Quinn (2013), 184, note 17; Lancel (1997), 310.
[233] Rakob (1979), 149. This dating is based on stratigraphy and pottery, Quinn (2013), 184, note 17.

overall design of the Sabratha tower may fit more broadly into a Numidian context, including its location, turriform construction, and decorative elements, its function is certainly more applicable to Near Eastern-rooted beliefs such as the *nephesh* marker. Although not much is known of its pre-Roman occupation, the town of Sabratha was originally a Phoenician settlement as supported by the discovery of a Tophet.[234] As it was not part of the original Numidian kingdom, having been incorporated between 193 and 162 BCE, and with Phoenician roots, the tower tomb could be expressing an identity with closer links to the Near East than indigenous North Africa.[235] The location of the tower may also suggest an elite yet non-royal link as the traditional royal centres, according to ancient literature, included Siga, Bulla Regia, Thala, and Zama.[236] The traditions of Sabratha and its inhabitants would therefore not necessarily need to satisfy a strong indigenous community but rather a tradition less associated to African practices.

The 6-stepped base follows the same hexagonal plan as Beni Rhenane but the tower's architecture is far more elaborate. The most significant details will be discussed while the more intricate designs can be seen in the reconstruction (Fig.2.36). On top of this base stood a structure resembling a temple facade. A false door decorated with two forward-facing lions was topped with a winged sun disc below a row of Uraei, which in turn was capped with a Corinthian capital. The appearance of the two lions on the door suggest a more overt symbol of protection than the previous tombs. The door was also flanked by engaged Corinthian columns. The two remaining sides, instead of a false door, each had an engaged Ionic column down the middle. An Egyptian gorge stood above this, supporting the two-stepped base for the next level. A figure in relief was placed in the centre of each side: Bes holding a lion in each hand, Herakles, and a third,

[234] Settlement probably occurred from the 5th century BCE with the first stone buildings appearing in the second half of the 4th century BCE, Kenrick (1986), 8, 312-313; Mattingly (1995), 125.
[235] See the unnumbered map opposite page 674 in Horn and Rüger (1979).
[236] Rakob (1983), 326; Rüger (1979), 181-184. See, among others, Strabo, *Geog*. 17.3.9, Pliny the Elder *Nat.* 5.1.1, Sallust *Bell. Jug.* 75, Tacitus, *Ann*. 3.21, and Vitruvius *De Arch.* 8.3.24.

indistinct figure.[237] Due to the Phoenician origins of Sabratha, this final figure could have been Ba'al. As the chief deity in the Punic belief system, later identified with Roman Saturn, his symbolism appeared throughout the Punic world.[238] Furthermore, the figure identified as Herakles was probably recognised as the Punic Melqart. Although traditionally linked to Carthage, this would not have stopped the spread of the imagery and symbolism.[239] Melqart was a symbol of royal power and with the spread of Hellenism his imagery became linked to that of Herakles, including the lion-skin and club (Fig.2.37).[240] Bes, along with other Egyptian symbols, also found popularity among Carthaginians from about the mid-seventh century BCE, which supports the strong Punic influence on this tower.[241] These central figures were also flanked by seated lions on each corner, and resting on these were kilted kouroi, with two Aeolic pilasters running up the length of each side. A cavetto cornice topped this level and was surmounted by a steep pyramid giving the structure a rather lean appearance.

The setting of the tower, and whether it was surrounded by other burials, is obscured by the structures around it. While many elements of this structure have been reconstructed, parts of it remain in ruin. Furthermore, two additional contemporaneous tower tombs were also found in Sabratha; A, which follows the same plan as B, and C.[242] However, these towers have not been fully reconstructed so little can be said about their overall design. The seemingly clear division between the three preceding tower tombs and Sabratha B shows that although there can to a degree be a shared tradition within the Maghreb, articulation can vary greatly, from very sober to

[237] Prados Martínez (2008), 144.
[238] Fentress (1978), 508-509; Lancel (1997), 195.
[239] A temple of this deity was situated in this city, although the exact location is unknown, Lancel (1997), 205.
[240] Lancel (1997), 207.
[241] Lancel (1997), 67-68.
[242] Prados Martínez (2008), 149-150.

highly decorative. A structure that appears to straddle the two ends of this tower tomb spectrum is that of Henchir Bourgou.

Henchir Bourgou

Although not part of Rakob's 1979 list of royal Numidian funerary architecture, Henchir Bourgou is still an important inclusion among the other tower tombs already discussed as it is contemporaneous and shows similarities to those above. Located on the island of Djerba, this tower tomb remains only in a partially reconstructed state.[243] Consisting of two distinct sections, a vault and a tower, the monument stood on a hexagonal base following the same concave plan as Beni Rhenane and Sabratha B and was constructed from soft, local limestone.[244] On the southwestern face, a *dromos* leads to a corridor which in turn opens onto the funerary chamber in the centre of the monument (Fig.2.38). While the passages lead down to the chamber, there is no evidence for stairs.[245] According to Akkari-Weriemmi, the ceiling of this chamber, which consists of stone beams, was perhaps meant to imitate the cedar beams found at the Medracen (Fig.2.39 and Fig.2.40).[246] The access to the burial chamber is also adorned with two bands of cyma recta moulding, which Ferchiou finds similar to that of 4th century BCE Apulian hypogea as well as North African haouanet.[247] All that remains today is the vault and part of the tower on its base.

Additionally, a headless bust was discovered among the rubble which may have formed part of a full male statue.[248] According to Ferchiou's proposed reconstructions, the Henchir Bourgou tower consisted of eight steps upon which three freestanding Doric

[243] Also Hinshīr Būrgū, Ferchiou (2009), 107. The island of Djerba has long been associated with Homer's land of the Lotus Eaters (*Od.* 9.82 – 84), Karabenick (1971), 52.
[244] Prados Martínez (2008), 161.
[245] Akkari-Weriemmi (1991) 2; Ferchiou (2009), 107, 109.
[246] Akkari-Weriemmi (1991), 3.
[247] Ferchiou (2009), 109-110. The indigenous tombs will be detailed in Chapter 3.
[248] Ferchiou (2009), 117-118. The lack of clamps to affix the statue to the tower suggests it was freestanding, Ferchiou (2009), 118. For the rationale behind this statue's 'Egyptionised' reconstruction see Ferchiou (2009), 123.

columns supported an architrave with an Egyptian gorge topped by a pyramid. She then places the statue between the columns under the canopy. In the second suggested reconstruction, the columns become engaged with a central structure and the pyramid is substituted by the statue supported by a five-stepped base (Fig.2.41). While the truncated appearance of this structure diverges from the other tombs, which all have more than one level apart from the pyramid, Ferchiou notes the absence of studs that would allow for a second level in the Djerba tower.[249] The placement of the statue too suggests a more individualised use of the tower as this would most probably have been a representation of the deceased.

The dating of this tower is difficult due to the lack of grave goods and the minimal decoration. However, Ferchiou uses the form of the Doric columns to suggest a late 3rd or early 2nd century BCE date.[250] This places Henchir Bourgou in the same date range as Beni Rhenane and Sabratha B, which reconciles the similar floor plan of these towers and also allows for a comparative interpretation of their design and influences. Ferchiou also places the typology of this tower between that of the Dougga tomb and Sabratha B with the location of the burial beneath the tower aligning it more with Es Soumaa.[251] Whom the tower was destined to entomb is unknown as no evidence survives. Ferchiou only posits that the passage was too narrow for a coffin therefore cremation was more likely.[252] Although the tower was located on the edge of an established settlement, it is difficult to ascertain whether Henchir Bourgou stood within a cemetery as little excavation of the area has taken place.[253] This could follow the same tradition as the Dougga tower, which too appears not to have stood amongst other tombs. However, today there are Roman period grave steles on the western side

[249] Ferchiou (2009), 120.
[250] Ferchiou (2009), 125.
[251] Ferchiou (2009), 126.
[252] Ferchiou (2009), 125, 128, does hypothesise that a prince may have been interred in Henchir Bourgou after Massinissa's expansion, but admits the speculation here.
[253] Ferchiou (2009), 125-126.

of the Dougga tomb, suggesting that these may have been a later addition to the surrounds, showing a potential continuation of this ancient practice.

Even though Djerba island and its structures may have been influenced by the Punic culture, Karabenick whimsically describes the foreign influences on North Africa as having "lapped but gently on Djerbian shores", evidenced by the unique persistence of the Amazigh language into the modern era.[254] This suggests that while Punic influence certainly came to Djerba, the underlying indigenous foundations were still strongly present. The hexagonal floor plan, however, may suggest eastern links with a similar design found at Saqqa (Tell Sakka, Syria), or that the creators of Henchir Bourgou were simply following the contemporaneous designs of the other hexagonal tombs.[255] Ferchiou also argues that the method of construction of Henchir Bourgou employed Greek techniques, opening the potential influences wider still.[256] The use of a *dromos* to enter the tomb is unique among the other apparently Numidian structures, appearing to follow a different design influence.

An interesting note could be made that the towers that show less 'orientalised' and more sober Classical influences are linked to Numidian kings, while those that are described as heavily 'Hellenised' or ornate are not necessarily the commission of Numidian royalty and can often be linked to traditionally Punic locations. There are in fact a number of other such turiform structures found in northern Tunisia including Henchir Djaouf in Zaghouan, Henchir Djal at Uzali Sar, and El Haouam in Siliana among others dated to the second century BCE and linked to Punic elites. Their proposed reconstructions too show stepped bases, rectangular towers, Aeolic pilasters, Egyptian gorges, and pyramids. Quinn suggests these three towers, and those that followed this construction, looked to the Numidian examples for inspiration, while Prados Martínez

[254] Karabenick (1971), 52. See Fentress et al. (2009) for a detailed survey of this island during the Punic and Roman periods.
[255] Prados Martínez (2008), 162, figure 156.
[256] Ferchiou (2009), 123.

places all the tower structures, including the Numidian ones, within the Punic tradition.[257] This Punic link is further suggested by the Iberian Pozo Moro tower in Albacete, Spain, one of a number of such towers, again following a similar design to the African tombs, but dating to 500 BCE and in turn linked to eastern origins.[258] When it comes to tower tombs in the ancient Maghreb, it is clearly impossible to separate the Punic and Amazigh elements, and there may in fact be a further African complication. What does seem to be permissible is that the Maghreb towers show a remarkable similarity to those found in the Aksumite Empire of northeast Africa and south Arabia with regards to placement, use, and general sacro-social role. While the idea of contact between ancient Imazighen and Aksumites remains speculative, the way in which the turriform structures were designed and used in the east African context makes for an interesting parallel.[259] This will be discussed further along with other relevant African comparisons in the following chapter as well as a closer discussion of geographic location and the implications for interpretation.

In addition to these seven structures, two enigmatic monuments have also been associated with the Numidian royalty of this period. While their design and function remain debated, they will be included in the discussion of the indigenous Hellenistic period monuments as they exhibit a similar style and therefore architectural intention as the above-mentioned funerary structures. Rakob has called them altars, while Fentress uses the term shrine, however these words imply certain connotations of

[257] Quinn (2003), 20-21, in turn claims this tradition informed the later Roman mausolea of similar construction; Prados Martinez (2008), 162-169.
[258] Prados Martinez (2008), 237-245; Quinn (2013), 211.
[259] On the potential origins of the Aksumite stelae see Fattovich (1987). Contact between Mediterranean cultures and the Aksumite Empire was possible through the town of Adulis on the coast of modern Eritrea, Boardman (1999), 138.

sacrificial and religious functions, therefore they will simply be referred to as peak monuments.[260]

2A.3. Peak monuments

Chemtou

Situated on Djebel Chemtou and above the Roman settlement of Simitthus, 17 km from Bulla Regia in Algeria, this peak monument is highly visible from the fertile Medjerda Valley below.[261] This structure stood on the route from Carthage to Hippo Regius as well as between Sicca and Tabraca, placing the monument at an important crossroad.[262] A highly imposing structure, not only for its size and position, but also its unusual design, the peak monument would certainly have drawn the attention of any traveller. Erected in the mid-second century BCE, the two-story Chemtou monument constructed from the local yellow marble (*marmor numidicum*) may have stood to a height of 10 m.[263] A "marque distinctive de la puissance royale", the structure took on the appearance of a decorated building facade with the longest sides of the rectangular block facing east and west (Fig.2.42).[264]

Standing on a three-stepped base, the ashlar blocks of the first level were mostly plain with the upper third decorated with alternating cuirasses and shields carved in middle relief. This band stretched around the entire monument with a second band of a carved laurel wreath above it. The eastern facade differed in that a blind doorway stood at the centre, flanked by two Doric-like pilasters on anta bases with elaborate capitals each sporting a Sphynx. This door was surmounted by a sun disc and two Uraei in a

[260] This has been adopted from Kuttner (2013), 228, who refers to them as "sacro-political peak-monuments", which is perhaps as specific as current research allows; Rakob (1983), 328; Fentress (1979), 55.
[261] Chemtou and the Medjerda being the ancient Simitthus and Bagradas respectfully, Rakob (1979), 120; Lancel (1997), 270.
[262] Rakob (1983), 327; Prados Martínez (2008), 127.
[263] Coarelli and Thébert (1988), 804; Rakob (1979), 120; (1983), 328. The importance of this quarry is attested by its ongoing use in the Roman period, Russell (2013), 44.
[264] Rakob (1983), 328.

rectangular panel ringed by lotus flowers. The same pilasters stood at each corner. Above this level was an architrave with an astragal moulding and a shallow Egyptian gorge. Above this on a stylobate stood a temple facade of 24 true Doric columns; eight down the lengths, two at the widths, and one column on each corner. A plain solid block stood just behind them in the centre. This was topped with an entablature of an architrave, regulae with guttae, triglyphs, and mutules with guttae, under a cyma recta cornice and a flat roof.[265] The elements that have caused the most debate are the shields and cuirasses. The round shields on the east, north, and south sides are decorated with a number of different devices with those that have been salvaged depicting a lion, a club, an aegis with a gorgon head, possibly a flaming torch, a stylised eye, and a winged thunderbolt.[266] The west-facing side consisted of undecorated oblong shields while the cuirasses are of a uniform appearance. A further intriguing addition was a Latin inscription that appeared on the architrave below the triglyphs. Unfortunately, now badly damaged, all that remains are the letters ES, a lacuna, and possibly the letter T or I followed by carved foliage (Fig.2.43).

The location of the peak monument links it to a Numidian settlement at the foot of Djebel Chemtou where a later Roman settlement also stood. Additionally, a Numidian cemetery dating to the 3rd century BCE was found beneath the paving of Simitthus' Roman forum. The layout of the necropolis is similar to other indigenous necropoleis, in that a circular bazina, made of the local marble in *opus quadratum*, was surrounded by other tombs.[267] Unfortunately, Rakob does not elaborate on the style or size of these tombs, but the plan suggests a notable figure or even family was probably interred in the bazina with the rest of the community around them. The spiritual significance of

[265] Rakob (1979), 120-125.
[266] Rakob (1979), 126-127; Kuttner (2013), 231-233.
[267] Rakob (1983), 327, note 6.

this site is further supported by the development of the peak monument into a sacred precinct and then later the site of a Christian church.[268]

By 152 BCE, a large part of the Medjerda Valley had come under the control of Massinissa, advancing on the Carthaginian heartland.[269] According to Rakob, it is after the king's death in 148 BCE that his successor Micipsa constructed the peak monument on the summit of Djebel Chemtou.[270] The significance of the site is therefore twofold; a Numidian settlement or at least cemetery nearby, and the border between the Numidian and Carthaginian realms.[271] This emphasis on location may be supported by the discovery of a second peak monument.

Kbor Klib

A similarly designed structure lies on a hill between the Siliana and Tessa wadis in central Tunisia. Known today as Kbor Klib, the ruined remains of the rectangular structure have also been dated to the mid-second century BCE.[272] The remains of what were short corridors with stairs are evident on the long west and east side (Fig.2.44), the latter of which is blocked, while a smaller structure that seems to have accompanied the larger monument is visible to the west (Fig.2.45a and b); apparently the general orientation.[273] The area around this smaller structure shows large paving which too serves to link these two structures. According to Ross, the construction and weathering of this smaller structure gives the impression of a "composition", linking it

[268] Rakob (1994), 36-38.
[269] Rakob (1979), 120.
[270] Rakob (1979), 120, 128, note 9; Rakob (1983), 328. According to Kuttner (2013), 247, the dating of the site to the reign of Micipsa and therefore the mid-second century BCE is supported by ceramic finds, although her inclusion of this information is apparently not without some scepticism. Fentress (1979), 59, note 35, dates the style of the cuirasses to the early 2nd century BCE.
[271] See for example Rakob (1983), 326; Stone (2007), 140-141; Quinn (2013), 196; Kuttner (2013), 229 on the use of this architecture as points of reference in the landscape.
[272] Alternatively, but rarely, the monument is also named Kobeur-el-Koulib, Ross (2005), 2, or Kbour Klib, Rakob (1983), 329. Kobeur (قبر) is Arabic for grave or tomb.
[273] Ferchiou (1991), 75, suggests that this was an altar: 9.65 m long, 6.25 m wide, and 2.005 m high; Ross (2005), 1-2, 24. Dimensions include a length of 45m, width of 10m, and a proposed height of 11m, Ross (2005), 1; Rakob (1979), 129.

to the peak monument in date and perhaps function.[274] Although very little of the monument remains, evidence for shields and cuirasses carved in relief as seen at Chemtou, as well as freestanding Ionic columns and capitals, have been found, and from which reconstructions and an original height of 11 m have been proposed. Once again, alternating cuirasses and shields, both round and oblong, decorated the top third of the first level. Only two of the original shield motifs remain which are the head of Artemis and a lion attacking an animal.[275] Speculation still surrounds the location of the columns, the shape of the cornice, and where the stairs actually led.[276] Various blocks depicting carved decorative elements are still found on the site, where they have apparently been used in an attempt to reconstruct parts of the monument. This includes what may have been a column base and various blocks showing dentilation which Ferchiou suggests ran along the entablature as seen in the proposed reconstruction (Fig.2.44).

Kbor Klib lies about 78 km from Chemtou as the crow flies, on a low hill between the important ancient settlements of Elles, Maktar, and Kasra with their indigenous megalithic necropoleis.[277] Furthermore, a second structure about 1 km to the north has long been associated with Kbor Klib; Ksar Toual (Fig.2.46).[278] This tower structure stood near the ancient settlement Vicus Maracitanus and includes the remains of a *columbarium*, a temple, and cisterns.[279] Saumagne argues that the site of Ksar Toual is in fact Zama Regia, the ancient royal Numidian town, using the description of Sallust as evidence.[280] This in turn elevates the significance of the location of Kbor Klib. The

[274] Ross (2005), 2.
[275] Rakob (1979), 129, 131; Ferchiou (1991), 55-57; Prados Martínez (2008), 128; Kuttner (2013), 234-235.
[276] Ross (2005), 24.
[277] Camps (1995c), 18.
[278] Saumagne (1941), 446; Ross (2005), 2. Also known as Ksar-Toual-Zouameul or Ksar Toual Zammel. This roughly translates as the Palace of the Horse's Tether, named for the legend of a phantom rider, Davis (1862), 52,54. Déroche (1948), 58, note 1, gives a further explanation of the etymology.
[279] Déroche (1948), 57, fig.1.
[280] Saumange (1941), 449.

presence of both structures, Kbor Klib and Ksar Toual, is somewhat unexplained and Saumagne states "[r]ien ne trahissait leur existence".[281] For the current author, the connection between these two structures, Kbor Klib and Ksar Toual, is not pertinent to the study of the indigenous construction and function of the peak monument and, while noted, will not be taken into consideration in the interpretation. Differing interpretations have been given for the peak monument including Juba I's royal tomb, a victory monument for Julius Caesar, which both date the structure to the 1st century BCE, or a monumental altar.[282] Ferchiou even draws parallels with the symbolic significance of the Mesopotamian ziggurats and Egyptian pyramids, describing Kbor Klib as an artificial mountain.[283] These contrasting interpretations over the years only seem to reinforce Saumagne's aforementioned observation of uncertainty. The orientation of Kbor Klib may offer a suggestion as it lies particularly close to the Fossa Regia, the first real sign of Rome laying boundaries in North Africa after 146 BCE.[284] The placement of the peak monument is within what could be regarded as Numidian territory. The western aspect of this monument looks towards Numidia while the east faces 'Rome'.

It is possible that a third structure similar to Chemtou and Kbor Klib may have been built near the village of Althiburos in the Kef region of Tunisia, although all that remains is a pile of stone built in *opus africanum* which may have formed a podium. However, the dating of the structure may be later than the first two and could even be attributed to a non-indigenous culture.[285] Nevertheless, pre-Roman occupation of the site is attested by three distinct phases of Numidian settlement between the 9th century BCE and the start of the Roman Empire, including a large megalithic necropolis on the nearby slopes.[286] Overall, these two peak monuments remain enigmatic and little-

[281] "Nothing betrays their existence", Saumagne (1941), 447.
[282] Roller (2003), 38, note 174; Rakob (1979), 132.
[283] Ferchiou (1991), 61.
[284] The impact of these frontier systems will be discussed further in Chapter 3.
[285] Kallala et al. (2008), 98-100 and Quinn (2013), 185 certainly make the association between the Althiburos structure and those of Chemtou and Kbor Klib.
[286] Kallala et al. (2008), 91; Kallala and Sanmartí (2011), 31.

understood with their design and setting resulting in varied interpretations. This is certainly true for the other Hellenistic period structures where the debate is still ongoing.

A number of key elements arise when analysing these nine Hellenistic period structures: they are predominantly funerary; they are monumental in size; the workmanship is of a high standard; they are associated with individuals or families of wealth and power; elements traditionally linked to Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean cultures are often present alongside motifs common in the North African setting; their positioning and location appear significant; and finally, an ongoing interaction with the deceased may be attested to in the form of additional ritual spaces. There is also an emphasis on smaller, less elite burials being incorporated into the space around many of these structures, creating veritable necropoleis, while the tombs themselves have much smaller burial chambers than their size would initially suggest. Although there is a significant variety in design and construction of these Hellenistic period monuments, there certainly appears to be an underlying shared tradition. Whether this tradition, in its entirety or through particular elements, is autochthonous or introduced remains to be seen.

Section B: Prevailing interpretations and arguments

The location and dating of the elite Hellenistic period monuments in the Maghreb has ultimately linked them to the rise of the indigenous Numidian kingdom between the 3rd and 1st century BCE.[287] However, the external motifs and elements that make them so enigmatic have often led to more questions than answers, with non-indigenous trends considered the inspiration behind their design. Scholars such as Lancel link the structures to Punic influences based on the "Punic taste" of incorporating a mixture of Greek and orientalised elements into their construction.[288] The Numidian tower tombs

[287] Quinn (2013), 186.
[288] Lancel (1997), 309-314; Quinn (2013), 188.

in particular evoke Phoenician comparisons with their depiction in shaft tombs in the Punic necropolis of Djebel Mlezza (Fig.2.21); similarities to the Iberian Pozo Moro tomb (Fig.2.47); and the tower structures and nephesh memorials found in the Levant.[289] Similarly, Coarelli and Thébert link the inspiration for the Medracen and the later Kbor er Roumia to foreign cultures as they broke away from local tradition creating a "rupture" from the pre-existing indigenous practices. They argue these structures followed the example of well-known eastern mausolea including the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae, the monument of the Nereides at Xanthos, the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, and the "modèle par excellence" tomb of Alexander.[290] They consider these Numidian tombs to have left the North African trends behind and instead stayed in line with the prevailing Greek styles as they developed and changed during the Hellenistic period.[291]

On the opposite end of the spectrum there are also those that argue for a closer indigenous link. Gsell sees the local influence at the centre of the design, famously describing the Medracen and Kbor er Roumia as "monuments indigènes, revêtus d'un manteaux d'origine étrangère"; similar to Kuttner's "costume" as described at Chemtou and Kbor Klib.[292] Camps too argues that the Medracen, and by extension the later Kbor er Roumia, took its cue from the prolific "paleo-Berber" bazina tombs found across the Maghreb. In the same vein as Gsell, he argues that this indigenous tradition was mixed with Punic influences which in turn drew from Greco-Sicilian examples.[293] Fentress sees the Medracen communicating "in terms of emulation", with the deliberate use of these foreign elements and references to the tomb of Alexander the Great creating external cultural connections.[294] Quinn builds on this idea of the Numidians aligning themselves with Mediterranean cultures but also recalling pre-

[289] Rakob (1983), 333; Quinn (2013), 188.
[290] Coarelli and Thébert (1988), 773, 779-788.
[291] Coarelli and Thébert (1988), 772, 775-776.
[292] Gsell (1929b), 262, "indigenous monuments wearing a foreign coat"; Kuttner (2013), 228.
[293] Camps (1973), 482-483, 509-510.
[294] Fentress (2006), 11.

existing and recognizable motifs while maintaining indigenous trends and traditions.[295] Her approach of seeing the Numidian adoption of foreign, non-indigenous elements as active and deliberate engagement counters what she considers the perceived cultural hierarchy that has influenced previous interpretations. This in turn shows the local adaptation to the new socio-political dynamics in North Africa.[296] Prior to this, Rakob argues for a similar reading of elite projection and finds it unsurprising that these structures are located near centres of royal Numidian power with the monuments displaying Hellenistic kingly ambitions using a variety of cultural references to communicate across the Hellenistic world, done for the last time under Juba II at Iol.[297]

Kuttner too seeks to find a more Numidian oriented interpretation for the Chemtou and Kbor Klib monuments, concluding that they engage with the foreign elements and motifs in a similarly deliberate way, appealing to a Numidian audience while remaining "legible in both Punic-Zone and Greco-Roman visual dialects".[298] This supports Ferchiou's argument that Kbor Klib drew from both local megalithic tradition and Hellenistic inspiration resulting in the unified finished product and even suggests a funerary function for this structure.[299] After proposing various reconstructions of Kbor Klib, Ferchiou settles on three conclusions: stairs led up to the platform below the full height of the monument; two chambers were possibly incorporated into the structure; while two different colonnades were probably in existence.[300] The hypothesised internal chambers of Kbor Klib lead her to suggest a possible link to pre-existing funerary practices, namely rock-cut haouanet tombs. Using the example of Uzali Sar near modern Tebourba in northern Tunisia, Ferchiou suggests a similarity in chamber

[295] Quinn (2013), 204-211.
[296] Quinn (2013), 186; 191.
[297] Rakob (1983), 337-338.
[298] Kuttner (2013), 230 & 232. As examples for a local influence Kuttner (2013), 236, 240-241, draws attention to the similarity between the shields on the altars and those on the votive stelae in the indigenous El Hofra sanctuary in Cirta from the 2nd century BCE as well as animal and religious motifs that were common in the Maghreb.
[299] Ferchiou (1991), 60.
[300] Ferchiou (1991), 70.

structure in Kbor Klib and the rock-cut tomb based on a proposed tetrapylon canopy design resembling the hanout's aboveground post-and-lintel structure.[301] Polito, however, dismisses Ferchiou's funerary argument focussing instead on the military aspects of both Kbor Klib and Chemtou.[302] He argues that the external elements of the peak monuments, in particular the shields and cuirasses, were meant to represent the participation of the Numidian forces in Rome's Macedonian Wars by displaying the arms of the fallen as a trophy.[303] This builds on Picard's argument that the Chemtou structure and Kbor Klib are both Roman triumph monuments with the latter placed on the site of the Massyli capital of Zama Regia. He considers Kbor Klib as a commemoration of numerous Roman victories in both Africa, due to its location, and Macedonia, as referenced by the shield motifs.[304] Polito, therefore, pushes for more local agency, citing the same battle but a different protagonist as discussed above, moving away from the predominantly foreign reading.

An interpretation that has been suggested, and one that draws all the Hellenistic monuments together in a more physical sense, is that of boundary markers. While this function may be more obvious with the Chemtou and Kbor Klib monuments, tombs may have also played a role.[305] Quinn notes how the tower tombs of Sabratha B and Beni Rhenane were looted or deliberately destroyed after the Masaesyli and Massyli lost power in these respective areas, suggesting a link between the tomb and a display of control.[306] The traditional edge of control for the Mesaesyli was the Moulouya River before reaching the kingdom of the Maures.[307] Although situated more than 80 km from Siga and the location of Beni Rhenane, this would perhaps have been the last major royal monument before the border, and the first seen upon arrival into the

[301] Ferchiou (1991), 70-73.
[302] Polito (1999), 42.
[303] Polito (1999), 39-70.
[304] Picard (1948), 421-427, links the shield imagery to that used on Macedonian coinage.
[305] Stone (2007), 140-141, too notes that this could be a possibility.
[306] Quinn (2013), 196.
[307] Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 1.2.

territory. The hill on which the tomb stands also emphasises that a high degree of visibility was intentional and therefore important. Sabratha B holds a less convincing position as it was placed within an urban context accompanied by other tower tombs and therefore less likely to attract the same attention as the more isolated and elevated Beni Rhenane. The peak monuments have a stronger case, with Kuttner referring to them as "mountain markers", which implies a signifying element to their location.[308] The potentially similar structure at Althiburos may support this hypothesis, considering its own significant location.[309] This overarching theory suggests that the monuments were deliberately placed to act in accordance with their surroundings and locality. This will be discussed in greater depth with regards to the location of Maghrebi burial and monumental structures in general in Chapter 3.

Returning to the religious function of these structures, Rakob argues that the two enigmatic peak monuments could be interpreted as monumental altars, similar to the Altar of Heiron II dedicated to Zeus Eleutherios in Syracuse, but maintains that a direct link to the Greek structures is not possible.[310] He later adds that a purely religious and potentially funerary function is certainly possible for the two peak monuments, considering them indigenous tomb-types advanced through Hellenistic architectural elements.[311] The religious nature of the Chemtou monument at least can be traced after Numidian occupation with the site being transformed into a temple to Saturn during the Roman period and a Byzantine church after this.[312] Perhaps the aforementioned partial Latin inscription dates to one of these periods with the ongoing appropriation of the indigenous structure naming a later dedicant, as inscriptions on Numidian monuments, apart from the Dougga tower, are very rare. Kbor Klib appears

[308] Kuttner (2013), 229
[309] Kallala et al. (2008), 98-100 and Quinn (2013), 185 link the Althiburos structure with those of Chemtou and Kbor Klib. However, Kallala et al. (2008), 100, concede that it could very well date to much later and to a non-Numidian culture, especially with regards to the use of *opus africanum*.
[310] Rakob (1979), 132; see also Picard (1957), 211.
[311] Rakob (1994), 34-35.
[312] Rakob (1994), 36-38.

not to have undergone this religious evolution which may be due to its somewhat isolated location making it an undesirable Roman and Byzantine sanctuary, or the location being far more meaningful to its Numidian creators than later powers. The significance of the site is certainly supported by the presence of what have been labelled as altars to the east and west of the structure.[313] The relatively isolated location of Kbor Klib compared to Chemtou implies that the development of the latter structure into the Roman period and beyond is due to that very factor; proximity to an important Roman settlement. This in turn suggests that the creation of the original structure is most probably not of Roman origin as this is certainly the case for Kbor Klib which shows no evidence of Roman addition after its initial function was abandoned.

Ross too is opposed to the funerary reading of this monument, arguing that the pre-existing traditions in the Maghreb do not support a mortuary function for Kbor Klib.[314] Instead he argues for a more symbolic interpretation of the placement of the monument suggesting that Kbor Klib was meant to memorialise and geographically mark the Battle of Zama in 202 BCE. Ross builds on Picard's idea of the monument acting as a Roman trophy, and locates Kbor Klib on a ridgeline overlooking the ancient battle ground, and commemorating the Numidian involvement in this particular engagement.[315] However, he admits that the actual function as opposed to the symbolic meaning of the monument remains elusive.[316] As noted above, the two sides of this monument essentially face Rome to the east and Numidia to the west. As the altar structure is on the western side of Kbor Klib this seems to suggest an indigenous intention and appeal of the site, further supporting the notion that this peak monument was created and used by the Numidians and not the Romans.

[313] Ross (2005), 37-38.
[314] Ross (2005), 36, 39.
[315] Ross (2005), 10; for his reasoning see in particular 54-64.
[316] Ross (2005), 65.

Although these interpretations focus on different elements and draw from a variety of cultures, what remains as the common thread is that these monumental structures are elite if not royal.[317] This is mostly due to their size and the resources and efforts required to construct them, which would be beyond the means of an ordinary citizen. How then do they differ from the less monumental burials and commemorative structures of this time and preceding eras? Are they simply larger, more elaborate forms of the pre-existing structures as suggested by Gsell and Camps, or do they adhere to Coarelli and Thébert's break from tradition? Do they engage with the preceding practices or are they a deliberate separation and move away from the long-established customs of the Maghreb? Were they intended to appeal primarily to foreign powers, showing a link and allegiance to Mediterranean rulers and their courts? By asking and answering these questions, it becomes possible to gain a clearer comprehension of and appreciation for the role of indigenous Maghrebi communities in the development and progression of ancient North Africa prior to and during the increased involvement of foreign powers in this region as projected through the funerary landscape. This is true not only for the ancient communities but also can be applied to the modern movement dedicated to the growing awareness of and appreciation for Amazigh culture and its significant place in North Africa, which is discussed in more depth in Chapter 5. By analysing the indigenous tombs and graves that existed in the Maghreb prior to and contemporary with the rise of the Numidian kingdom it will be possible to see whether these monuments do in fact show continuity or cracks.

What becomes apparent is the necessity for a deeper investigation of the relevant cultural practices that are variously seen as the inspiration for these structures and which may give a better understanding of the Hellenistic era monuments in the ancient Maghreb. While certain scholars argue for purely Mediterranean origins, others are

[317] Rakob (1979), 119, terms these structures Numido-Hellenistic royal architecture, which he then later reinforces (Rakob 1983). This term has now come to define these structures.

more pragmatic in their approach and suggest roots that stretch not only north but also south into other parts of the Maghreb. However, to date this has been done in less depth than the analysis calls for. When African roots are suggested, what are these roots, how deep are they, and what does that mean for the interpretation of not only the Hellenistic era structures, but the wider funerary world of the ancient Maghreb? These Hellenistic period monuments are often approached in isolation, set apart in their own tradition. Camps indeed places them into the development of Amazigh funerary structures, but at the same time excludes the tower tombs and peak monuments; Prados Martínez analyses them side-by-side, but places the towers in the Punic tradition; and while Quinn reconciles the Hellenistic period monuments with their Numidian origins to a degree, this is only in passing reference to the preceding megalithic tradition, with emphasis placed on contemporary political projections. What will now be necessary is an investigation of just how deep these African roots go and what this implies for the communities engaging with these tombs and their ever-developing socio-cultural climate. At present, the Maghreb is undergoing introspection and, arguably, a renaissance with regards to the value of and appreciation for indigenous cultural agency.[318] Therefore, this current thesis, that attempts to create a greater awareness of ancient indigenous progress and impact, holds value for modern debates on the role of local inhabitants in the post-colonial period. By using the funerary landscape of the Maghreb as a case study for this form of analysis, this thesis forms part of the larger discussion of the important role played by indigenous communities in the Greco-Roman world and the impact this has on modern scholarly perspectives.

Apart from the attention given to the design and decoration of the structures, a very important factor is their location. Although touched on with regards to their possible use as boundary markers, the following chapter will place further focus on the

[318] See the discussion at the end of Chapter 5; see also Keenan (2014), Chtatou (2019), AFP (2019), Putinja (2018), Lane (2011), and Prentis (2018).

significance of the location of burial and ritual structures in the Maghreb in general. As many of these structures exhibit ongoing interaction, this will include understanding how these monuments were placed within the landscape of human settlement and movement across the region and what this suggests for their wider functioning. This will evaluate the culmination of all these preceding interpretations with the most recent concept that the adoption of these power symbols in the Hellenistic period create what Quinn terms "false memories", essentially 'advertising' ancient networks and connections between the Numidian and Mediterranean kingdoms which had never previously existed.[319] In addition, these "useful associations" through foreign cultural references implies that the motivation behind the new way of articulating funerary traditions was to counter a foreign power, either through resistance to or compliance with the incoming settlers.[320] Quinn's argument seems to suggest politics as the primary motivation for the design of these tombs. She is not alone in this evaluation as the above prevailing interpretations too focus on the display of political and military reach and power. However, this is often centred on the *foreign* communication and comprehension of these structures and their designs as they make use of a variety of widely understood references. While this certainly remains an important element of the monumental articulation during the politically charged Hellenistic period, this needs to be balanced by a more socio-ritual examination.

By building on the work of these preceding scholars and their attempts and achievements at placing these monuments into context, this current study will take this argument further still by balancing the political motivation with the long-standing and well-established cultural practices and ritual traditions. By using a new method centred on experiential archaeology, including landscape, sense, and ritual aspects, this thesis will take a more holistic approach to the analysis of the funerary traditions of the ancient Maghreb. This will not only be geographical but also chronological,

[319] Quinn (2013), 210.
[320] Quinn (2013), 204.

demonstrating that the Hellenistic period monuments do not stand isolated in their own category simply due to their political setting and social context, but instead form part of a long and ever-evolving tradition of ancient Amazigh funerary practices. This analysis will look at the pre-existing, wider funerary practices as they developed during the late Pastoral period (c.4th to 1st millennium BCE), focussing on the general evolution and trends of the megalithic tradition across northern Africa, into which the Hellenistic period tombs can be placed. Three widely encompassing themes will then be approached; landscape and location, topography and setting, and ritual practices and engagement. By analysing how these structures were located, created, and used, it will be possible to delve further into the more immediate and experiential realm of the indigenous funerary practices. This will serve as a more rounded and in a sense more quotidian approach to the preceding politically-centred analysis of the later development of funerary architecture in the ancient Maghreb.

Chapter 3: The funerary landscape of the ancient Maghreb

3.i. Introduction: an overview of structure and chronology

As emphasised in Table 1, adapted from Camps' meticulous cataloguing of ancient North African tomb types, burial in the ancient Maghreb was a varied practice stemming from a number of possible roots and influences. While the design and construction of these tombs have been well studied, the dating and chronology of the Amazigh structures of the ancient Maghreb can be imprecise. As many sites were excavated and studied prior to the development and use of radiocarbon dating, and considering the relative lack of grave goods and remains, it is often very difficult to fix an absolute date for their construction. Use over many years, too, seems to obscure their precise age as reuse for burial appears to have been frequent. However, as a number of other sites have been scientifically studied and therefore absolutely dated, subsequent relative dating through pottery, style, and location, has been made possible. This section will briefly introduce the main types of megalithic tombs used by the Imazighen in North Africa and their chronology. It will not focus on the specifics of their diverse designs but instead on the general features that differentiate the tomb types, while accompanying images of representative tombs in Table 2 will be used to illustrate the range of structures. Gazetteer 1 gives further details of pertinent sites while Maps 6 to 7 show the general distribution and location of tomb types.

3i.1. The earliest forms of human burial

In order to fully comprehend how and why the first millennium tombs are considered a shift in funerary architecture, it is important to first establish what burial in ancient North Africa consisted of prior to this period. This includes its earliest roots and the social developments that contributed to changes in the way in which humans were buried in this region. Without at least a brief introduction to the preceding traditions, an analysis of the first millennium funerary structures falls foul of that which this thesis is attempting to avoid, which is an isolated case study. Inclusion of this more ancient

evidence is necessary for the holistic approach that this current study is taking. Across the Maghreb, the earliest recorded human burials occurred in caves and rock shelters, dating from at least 20 000 BP into the Neolithic period and beyond.[321] While the Imazighen rarely used caves as dwellings, certain cases, including Kef el Agab near Jendouba in Tunisia and the Témara Caves on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, give evidence for both Neolithic occupation and burial.[322] Exploitation of natural fissures and spaces for burial continued, although more rarely, after the Neolithic period, such as at Taza and Cap Spartel in Morocco where the position of the human remains suggests deliberate inhumation.[323] This practice was developed further as caves were artificially enhanced, including Kifan Bel Ghomari in Morocco and Sila in Algeria where relatively regular chambers and stone slabs augmented the natural hillside features. This also heralded a shift away from the frequently isolated inhumations towards the development of funerary complexes and necropoleis.[324]

3i.1.1. Mounds and tumuli

After the long use of natural and semi-natural features, tumuli became the earliest freestanding burial structures, ranging from simple stone piles to more complex constructions (see Table 2). This practice dates from the 8th millennium BCE Capsian period when *escargotières* resembling middens of edible snail shells were commonly used for burials.[325] A further development saw the use of a simple regular chamber constructed from slabs covered by loose stones, either with the chamber completely hidden in the tumulus or the capping slabs visible above the covering. This was further enhanced by adding stele to the top of the platform or leaving a crater-like space at the

[321] Humphrey and Bocaege (2008), 112-114.
[322] Camps (1961), 63; Roubet (2005) for Kef el Agab; Stoetzel et al. (2014), 146 for the Témara Caves.
[323] While it has been suggested that some sites date from the Roman period, Camps remains sceptical of this late date and argues instead for an earlier construction (1961), 64. The late dating could be due to ongoing use of the sites into the Roman period with the intrusion of later material culture, a frequent occurrence. See the case of the coins of Faustina the Elder and Domitian below.
[324] Camps sees this enhancement of caves as a rudimentary imitation of the foreign hypogeum and hanout burials, (1961), 64-65. For Kifan Bel Ghomari see Roubet and Hachi (2005).
[325] Camps (1961), 65-67; Humphrey and Bocaege (2008), 112.

summit of the tumulus that could be used to facilitate subsequent burials in a single tomb without having to dismantle the tumulus.[326] Conversely, a stone-lined cist was sunk into the ground beneath a covering tumulus which left little possibility for easy subsequent burials as the complete demolition of the tumulus was required to reach the burial chamber within.[327] A tumulus at Foum el Rjam with six inhumations offers an interesting alternative with a small side passage set high in the dome. However, the diminutive size of the opening would prohibit an adult from entering so it seems more likely that the summit of the tumulus was removed to deposit any subsequent remains.[328] These last few examples show the start of an increasingly constructive phase of tombs, with more care taken in selection of stones and their layout. Their widespread distribution in Amazigh North Africa, from Morocco to the Sudan and relatively deep into the Sahara, and diverse articulation while maintaining fundamental similarities, also speaks to the cultural links that appear to have been present at this time.[329]

Tumuli are usually located along the sides of hills or on the summits of rocky djebels, while a second piled structure, the mound, is more often located in plains and valleys.[330] As opposed to tumuli, mounds are predominantly constructed from soil and are much larger. Numerous examples are found in Morocco, such as at M'zora, Guethna, and Sidi Allal el Bahraoui.[331] A frequent element of these mounds is a stone circle, a feature which can also stand as its own funerary monument and, among other open-air or spatial structures, places emphasis on the area over which it is constructed. Stone circles, stone rings, and round, paved platforms make up the majority of these structures with occasional burial pits, which were at times stone-lined, beneath the

[326] Camps (1961), 69-73.
[327] Camps (1961), 74-75.
[328] As Camps (1998) is uncertain of the dating of this tomb, the use and cultural meaning of this 'skylight' and altar remains unknown.
[329] Reygasse (1950), 6.
[330] Camps (1961), 76.
[331] Camps (1961), 76-80; Reygasse (1950), 13 ; see also Stone (2016), table 4.2 for more examples.

centre.[332] The ancient roots of these structures is attested by their strong presence in the eastern Maghreb, where they date to the Garamantian period (5000 – 2000 BP).[333]

3i.1.2. Arms and antennae

Further additions to tomb structures are arms and antennae, which appear to function as demarcation for ongoing ritual practices after the initial inhumation (see Table 2). These are most often constructed externally, leaving the tomb's core structure untouched, implying delineation between the realm of the dead and that of the living.[334] These external annexes or features are usually constructed of upright stones arranged in lines with either their ends open to create passageways or closed to create arms and antennae extending away from the central tomb structure in a predominantly easterly direction, and range from a few feet to 40 m in length.[335] Examples found in the central and western Maghreb include a bazina with arms extending in a V shape near Sila and lateral arms joined to a bazina at Wadi Ouerk.[336] A Mediterranean element that is comparable is the forecourt of the *Tomba di Giganti* in Sardinia. Here a crescent-shaped wall channels attention to the central entrance leading to the dolmenic tomb within, dating to the Middle Bronze Age (18th – 13th century BCE) and the Nuragic tradition.[337] However, open-air or spatial structures have an older history in the Saharan regions of the Maghreb as antennae tombs are well attested in Fazzan, where they are associated with the late Pastoral period (c.3000 – 2000 BCE).[338] Just to the west of Fazzan, a further intriguing structure combines the mound and spatial

[332] Camps (1961), 84-91.
[333] Di Lernia et al. (2002a), 30.
[334] Camps (1961), 173-174.
[335] The antennae of a tomb near Tin Abunda in Fazzan for example extend for 30 m and 40 m to the NE and SE respectively, Mattingly and Edwards (2003), 202, Fig.6.27.
[336] Camps (1961), 174-175, does not consider the orientation important here as it does not appear to link to any significant celestial occurrence. The relevance of tomb orientation will be discussed further and in more depth.
[337] Webster (2015), 72-73. This possible Mediterranean connection will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.
[338] Mattingly and Edwards (2003), 201-203. The ritual implications of these structures will be dealt with in Section C of this chapter.

features to create a keyhole shape. These keyhole monuments are found running along the foot of ridges in the Tamanrasset province and Djanet region of Algeria and are large enough to be seen in satellite imagery (see Map 15). While the exact dating and specific function the of the sites remains difficult, Reygasse places them in at least the pre-Islamic period, while Di Lernia suggests they might be part of the nomadic herder tradition dating to between 5000 and 3000 BP and associates them with the general trend of megalithic construction that created the other stone tombs of this period.[339] Sparavigna, who links these structures to astronomical phenomena, notes the dating of comparative structures in Niger through radiocarbon between 3600 and 220 BCE, while the crecent tumuli tombs of the Sahara associated with the keyhole regions date as far back as 1900 BCE.[340]

3i.1.3. The megalithic 'golden age'

Until the mid-first millennium BCE, the burial practices in the ancient Maghreb do not appear to undergo any significant changes. However, from the 4th century BCE, this region seems to experience a 'golden age' of megalithism with the increased construction of dolmens, bazinas, and chouchet.

Dolmens

Gsell and Camps both agree on a post-Neolithic, pre-Roman and at times pre-Phoenician age for the original construction of the North African dolmens.[341] Camps, as based on the analysis of Cypriot pottery found at Bou Chen, also suggests that these tombs on average were probably not much older than the 4th century BCE.[342] However, reuse and the continuation of tradition takes them into the Roman period with coins of

[339] Reygasse (1950), 52-56; Di Lernia (2013), 181-186.
[340] Sparavigna (2014).
[341] Dating was achieved through grave goods, including pottery and metal objects, Gsell (1929b), 232-234; Camps (1961), 146-148.
[342] Camps (1961), 146.

Faustina the Elder found at Ras el Ain Bou Merzoug and Domitian at Sigus.[343] The dolmen necropolis at Bou Nouara offers an insight into the long use of these tombs as the earliest pottery dates to the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, while subsequent inhumations show the dolmens still in use by the 3rd century CE.[344] Camps therefore insists that the dolmen-style tomb is not autochthonous but instead an introduced burial type originating from the more well-known dolmen-creating cultures of the western Mediterranean.[345] However, this does not exclude indigenous adaptations from taking place. For earlier burials, Elles in central Tunisia offers pre-5th century BCE complex structures with use, and probably elaboration of construction, also continuing into the Roman period. These monumental megalithic tombs contain up to seven chambers with enormous covering slabs attesting to the labour required to construct them.[346] According to Camps, there were two avenues for the introduction of the dolmen into North Africa; from Iberia into Morocco and the north-western coast, and from southern Italy and Sardinia into Tunisia and the north-eastern coast. This in turn is broken further into two diffusions: from Sicily to Enfida in the east, and from Sardinia to the coast around Jijel in the north. While this argument centres on the foreign introduction of the dolmen technique into North Africa, Camps adds that a distinct development of this tradition occurred in the regions of Algeria and Tunisia, setting their dolmenic structures apart from those in Morocco; namely gallery graves and bazinas.[347] This diffusionist argument remains contentious and to a degree undermines the agency and traditions already established in North Africa. The value of this theory and the potential links between the Mediterranean and North African megalithic traditions will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

[343] Camps (1961), 140-141.
[344] Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 85-86; Camps (1991b), 6.
[345] Camps (1995c), 29-30. Dolmens can be found in many regions of Europe and indeed the world, the pertinent places being France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy.
[346] Miniaoui (2008), 117-119.
[347] Camps (1961), 149-152.

Gallery graves and bazinas

Both of these tombs offer a more constructed and elaborate dolmen technique with the gallery grave extending the chamber of the dolmen into a covered passageway and the bazina combining this chamber with an increasingly sophisticated tumulus (see Table 2).[348] This evolved form, as Camps terms it, was constructed and added to well into the Roman period. Examples include the unique monumental tombs of central Tunisia, including Machrasfa and Guelaat, showing continued use over many years and up to 50 successive inhumations.[349] With regards to the bazina, a clearer link to the ancient tumuli is more obvious, in both design and distribution, which classifies them as an autochthonous funerary structure.[350] In its simplest form, the bazina is a stepped tumulus over a chamber or cist, which can be enhanced by adding more chambers, passageways, steles, paving, and small, external non-burial structures.[351] Reuse and successive inhumations in these protohistoric tombs are evident through removable slabs and corridors that allow access after construction.[352] This practice, however, obscures accurate dating as grave goods and contents are often disturbed. Therefore, dating has been through style and architecture linking them to the developments from the 5th to 4th century BCE. While comparisons have been made between square bazinas and Egyptian pyramids, and therefore the origin of the bazina, Camps argues that this link is inaccurate as the quadrilateral bazina is a much later development, as seen in the 4th century CE Djedars.[353]

Chouchet

Unlike the bazina's widespread distribution, the choucha (pl. chouchet) is far more localised and centres on the Aures Mountains (as shown in Map 6). Constructed as a

[348] Reygasse (1950), 6, in fact, does not classify the tumulus and bazina as separate tomb types.
[349] Camps (1961), 156-158.
[350] The bazina construction can be found across much of the Maghreb and Sahara, Camps (1991a), 1, 6.
[351] Bazinas are discussed in great detail by Camps (1961), 158-170.
[352] Camps (1973), 483.
[353] Camps (1991a), 4; (1995a), 13.

single stone cylinder with a covering slab, the choucha is limited to eastern Algeria, with no evidence for these structures in the rest of the Maghreb (see Table 2).[354] However, a choucha-like tradition is also apparent in Garamantian contexts in Fazzan, and there is evidence for continuation in the regions of Adrar and Abalessa in Algeria, and as far south as Tibesti in northern Chad.[355] This either suggests a northern origin of the choucha tradition or a completely independent development of the Saharan tomb structure differentiated by its lack of covering slab, with its walls and central chamber often indistinguishable.[356] Camps suggests that the Maghreb chouchet could be a blending of the coastal dolmen and this Saharan tradition resulting in a highly localised distribution.[357] While the above examples show a longevity of the tradition into the Islamic period, Areschima in the Aïr Mountains of Niger gives a 2nd millennium BCE date for its choucha-like structure.[358] Amazigh contact with the Ténérian culture occurred in this region in late 2nd to early 1st millennium BCE, which may account for the similarities in the inhumation of these peoples.[359] This may also suggest a stronger connection between western Imazighen and the Mediterranean, namely Iberia, while the central and eastern Imazighen show a greater affinity with the Saharan regions. This trend of construction is also noted further to the west where chapel tumuli were created and used between the 5th century BCE and the 5th century CE, with a close structural similarity to the bazina and the likely site for dream divination (Map 6).[360] The very wide distribution of these tombs and the consistency in their design and probably

[354] Camps (1961), 172-173.
[355] Di Lernia et al. (2002a), 30. Mattingly and Edwards (2003), 213 & 217-218, associate drum cairns, arguably the Saharan chouchet, with the early to mid-Garamantian period of the earl 1st millennium BCE. C14 dating from some of the excavated Saharan chouchet show much later use in the 13th (Tit) and 16th (Silet) centuries CE, Camps (1994), 3-4.
[356] Camps (1961), 173.
[357] Camps (1961), 173.
[358] See Roset (1977), 329 for the late 2nd millennium BCE date for Areschima.
[359] Clark (1971), 457. The development of the Ténérian culture, preceded by the Kiffian, of northern Niger dates to about the 4th millennium BCE, Smith (2005), 94-95.
[360] Camps (1986) links this tomb type to the Gaetuli but offers no further reasoning besides location. See also Benseddik and Camps (2001) on the practice of incubation. Dream divination among the indigenous inhabitants of ancient North Africa is mentioned by both Herodotus 4.174 and Pomponius Mela I.46.

function is indicative of the long duration and relative conservatism in Amazigh burial traditions.

A tomb type that appears to develop in the same way as the chapel tumuli is the ambulatory tumulus. An example can be found 100 m to the south west of the Medracen where a circular gallery was constructed beneath a very large tumulus.[361] A similar tomb is also found on Djebel Meimel south of Constantine and, according to Camps, developed from the bazina tradition.[362] Although the dating of these tombs is unknown, they clearly follow the established tradition of the tumulus and the bazina as well as the more constructed dolmenic design as found at Elles. The proximity to and comparison with the Medracen suggests that the nearby ambulatory tumulus is closely linked to this monumental mausoleum's period, placing it in the 3rd or 2nd century BCE. However, if this tumulus post-dates the larger Medracen, the design of this smaller tomb still indicates a close link to the pre-existing burial tradition and the ongoing use of well-established construction techniques. This ambulatory design appears to be one of the latest developments of the Maghreb tombs as the use of this element continues well into the Christian period as seen in the later Djedars of Tiaret and Blad Guiton in Menerville, both in Algeria.[363]

Haouanet and silos

Although not strictly megalithic in design, these tombs will be included as they form part of the diverse funerary structures of the Maghreb. While the indigenous origins of the built structures might be more deeply rooted, the more foreign-inspired tombs are considered to be the hypogeum, haouanet (sing. hanout), and silo tombs (see Table 2).[364] All these examples are cut or pit-based tombs with negative architecture using

[361] Brunon (1874), 337; Camps (1961), 194-195.
[362] Camps (1961), 195.
[363] For the Djedars see Camps (1995a), for Blad Guiton see Gsell (1898); for both see Camps (1961), 195-196.
[364] Camps (1961), 106-107; Ghaki (1999), 141.

carving or digging techniques to create the fundamental structure. Arguments for the origins and development of these funerary structures centre on Punic and Mediterranean roots due to their predominantly north-eastern coastal distribution, a region strongly associated with Punic settlements such as Cap Bon, Monastir, and Djerba.[365] However, settlements long linked to pre-existing indigenous communities, including Bulla Regia, Dougga, and Constantine, also boast haouanet necropoleis.[366] As a counter argument, Camps and Gsell look to the interior decoration and design of these tombs, concluding that the geometric, human, and animal motifs adorning the walls and the likely contracted or even disarticulated deposition of the body prove instead an ancient Amazigh tradition as opposed to Phoenician roots (Fig.3.1).[367] The argument though for a central Mediterranean origin through Sardinia and Sicily, appearing here between the 14th and 7th century BCE and introduced to the Tunisian coast in the 2nd millennium BCE, also persists.[368] Preceding this, a period of Neolithic exchange saw obsidian lithic products make their way to North Africa from the 5th millennium BCE which may be used to support this argument (Map 7).[369] Could these developments have been the result of this very early contact and if so what does this imply for the local inhabitants of the ancient Maghreb with regards to their self-expression through their ritual constructions? The implications of this cultural contact and exchange as pertains to the haouanet will be discussed further in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

While the hypogea and hanouanet are predominantly associated with north-eastern locations, the silo tombs are more western, found in Morocco and central Algeria. In

[365] Camps (1961), 106-107; Ghaki (1999), 141.
[366] Ghaki (1999), 141, terms these "Libyan pockets" which suggests cultural strongholds or traditional centres within a Punic zone.
[367] Camps (1961), 107-108; Gsell (1929b).
[368] Ghaki (1999), 142.
[369] Obsidian is unique to specific areas in the central Mediterranean, including Monte Arci in Sardinia, Lipari, Palmorola, and Patelleria, which, on a clear day, is visible from the Tunisian coast 70 km away, Mulazzani (2004), 217-220.

their simplest form they are bulbous pits with covering slabs or low mounds and have been linked to Iberian origins due to their localised proximity to this region and their similarity to Andalusian examples.[370] However, their wider distribution in North Africa could suggest a more indigenous development.[371] This development though seems to be more connected to the northern regions and the Mediterranean, as they are very rare in Fazzan, an area that exhibits almost all the same tombs as the Maghreb.[372] The link between negative architecture and Punic traditions should not be ignored here, and may answer the question as to their origin and northern distribution. If this is in fact how they came to be in North Africa, there seems to be a divide between the western and eastern Maghreb's articulation of Punic influence in funerary structures as this culture appears to be responsible for two distinct traditions: silos to the west, and hypogea to the east, with very little overlap occurring. This question of Mediterranean influence will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

3i.2. Society and shift

Moving from cave shelters to multi-chambered mausolea, the overall shift to elaborate megalithic structures may have been the result of greater social stratification. It is necessary therefore to see where this change started and why. Without this insight into earlier periods, it is not possible to see the general development not only of the architectural features but also the social chages that were occurring across this region which had an impact of this archaeological development. In a once less evidently hierarchical society, the 3rd and 2nd millennium BCE saw an apparent transformation in the social dynamics of North African pastoral communities due to the drying out of the Sahara Desert. Aridization occurred in northern Africa at three main periods from 8200 BP subsequently ending more humid periods and leading to forest reduction as

[370] A multi-pit silo tomb can be seen at Acebuchal in Andalusia, Bonsor (1899), 155-159; Camps (1961), 115.
[371] Camps (1961), 113-115.
[372] A few examples can be seen at Zuwila in the Fazzan region, but the practice only becomes increasingly prevalent at the oases to the east including Siwa, Mattingly and Edwards (2003), 194-195.

indicated by archaeobotony and ancient lake levels and the lowering of once abundant resources, increasing inter-community competition.[373] With this change in climate and the increased competition for dwindling resources came the need for greater social stratification and leadership roles, with key figures acknowledged even after death in monumental tombs.[374] The move to inhumation in large tumuli, and subsequently more elaborate megalithic tombs, was preceded by the ancient cattle cult tradition in the same areas. The 5th millennium BCE saw a number of significant tumuli containing the remains of cattle burials, both articulated and disarticulated. One of the most important and concentrated locations is Nabta Playa in the Egyptian Sahara. Sites in the west in Adrar Bous and the Aïr Mountains of Niger, and Messak Settafet in Libya formed not much later and show remarkable similarity, although they are separated by 3000 km.[375] This progression across the Sahara has been linked to increased aridity between 6400 and 6100 BP and the subsequent movement of herding communities in search of suitable pastures.[376] This megalithic ritual practice then shifted, with only faint overlap, to human burial in the 3rd millennium BCE. This was most likely due to further aridization and subsequent contact between pastoral communities, and what Di Lernia terms a "shift of symbolism from collective *memoir* [the communal wealth of cattle] to individual biography [the rise of key individuals]" in the face of increased territoriality and competition for resources.[377] This new practice of megalithic and monumental human burial developed further in the Late Pastoral period with the formalisation of necropoleis separating inhumation from habitation.[378] Areas that are devoid of such stone structures are alluvial plains and delta systems, either due to possible damage in seasonal flooding or to make way for potential agriculture or

[373] Di Lernia and Manzi (2002b), 5; Roset (1987); Mercuri et al. (2011) use evidence from archaeobotony from North African and Mediterranean sites to demonstrate these periods; Damnati (2000) focusses on Saharan lake levels that reduced from approximately 6000 BP.
[374] Di Lernia and Manzi (2002b), 5.
[375] Di Lernia (2006), 52-54 & 59.
[376] Di Lernia (2006), 59-60.
[377] Di Lernia and Manzi (2002b), 4-5; Di Lernia (2006), 60-61.
[378] Di Lernia et al. (2002a), 26.

grazing.[379] This trend certainly increased over time with larger necropoleis appearing from about the 5th century BCE as the Garamantian kingdom developed, especially in the vicinity of Ghat and Barkat in eastern Libya, and the vast cemeteries of the Maghreb, including Bulla Regia in western Tunisia, and Roknia and Gastel in eastern Algeria, from the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE.[380]

The overall chronology of megalithic tombs in North Africa appears to show the meeting of two ancient traditions in the Maghreb. The apparently Mediterranean rock-cut and dolmenic structures coming from the north, and the Saharan bazina, choucha, and spatial tomb tradition from the south, providing 3rd to 2nd millennium BCE roots for subsequent iterations of these tomb types. These then appear to manifest in their evolved forms from the 4th to 3rd century BCE, reaching a peak in the 3rd to 1st century BCE monumental mausolea linked to the Hellenistic period Numidian and Maures kingdoms. This is an important point to stress, and one that shows the relatively conservative dimension of North African burials as this was a slow process, linking tomb architecture across many hundreds of years to the same sacro-social motivations. While it could be argued that this is too far removed chronologically, what this does demonstrate is that change happened over a longer period of time in the ancient Maghreb, so much so that when a unique development does occur, such as the first millennium megalithic constructions, analysis is required. The inclusion of this far earlier burial tradition from the 4th millennim BCE also demonstrates that significant social change in North Africa was not limited to the first millennium BCE and therefore what is perceived as a result of increased foreign contact, but could be self-generated and indigenously motivated prior to this contact, an important distinction to make in light of the early defusionaist theories as will be discussed in Chapter 4. In each case, the 4th to 3rd millennium and 4th to 3rd century BCE, a social shift heralds this transition in burial practices, not only visible in tomb types but also ritual traditions including the

[379] Cresmaschi and Di Lernia (2002), 14.
[380] Cresmaschi and Di Lernia (2002), 15; Camps (1995b), 5.

formation of necropoleis and specific geographic distributions. The following sections of this chapter will offer a more detailed analysis of the socio-ritual functioning of the megalithic tradition in the ancient Maghreb through the application of more anthropocentric and experiential archaeological methodologies. This in turn will allow for a clearer comprehension of the preceding, prehistoric trends and practices that would have informed and influenced the development of burial traditions in this region, from the earliest phases of inhumation in the 4th and 3rd millenniums BCE, to the monumental royal tombs of the Hellenistic period, showing not a break from tradition but rather a strong continuity in ancient practices.

Section A: Maghrebi funerary structures in their North African setting

When considered in isolation, the elite, monumental Hellenistic period structures appear disparate and contradictory. As simply a handful of towers, tumuli, and peak monuments in a combination of coastal, pre-desert, isolated, and urban locations they seem to offer no conclusive consistency. The only element that scholars have used to unite these monuments are their seemingly foreign elements. Basing their analysis in the Classical and Mediterranean traditions, the only link that appears to be shared by these tombs is their expression of apparently foreign tastes. This chapter seeks to take these monuments out of this imposed isolation and place them back among the megalithic tombs with which they shared the landscape, both physically and culturally. Camps, to an extent, attempted to do this by placing the Medracen and Kbor er Roumia at the end of his treatment of the indigenous megalithic tombs, showing what appears to be a progression from drystone tumulus to elaborate ashlar monument.[381] However, deeper analysis is lacking in his approach and Camps does not consider the tower tombs as part of this tradition. Prados Martínez, however, does place the tower tombs

[381] Camps (1961), 199-205.

in a broader funerary tradition, albeit a Punic one.[382] As his work is part of a wider discussion of the development of Punic funerary traditions, he considers them part of this culture. He also places the Medracen, Kbor er Roumia, Kbor Klib, and the Chemtou monument alongside the indigenous megalithic tradition, which allows for a more complete overview.[383] However, this approach, while more holistic than that of Camps, reinforces the idea that the non-indigenous influences on the monuments are paramount to their intention and interpretation. While the influences from non-indigenous sources are certainly part of the development and evolution of these monuments, they are not the only factor that should be considered. Quinn has come closest to reconciling the various traditions seen in these elite Hellenistic period monuments as she argues the creators based their construction on the traditions of both Africa and the Mediterranean to create a mutually intelligible political message proving duel legitimacy. By making these references through foreign motifs and traditional practices within a single monumental structure, the Hellenistic elites were able to appeal to a far wider audience for support.[384]

The development of these monuments from indigenous designs and preceding tombs is obvious to any observer who is familiar with the megalithic tradition of the ancient Maghreb, and the Hellenistic period indigenous architecture is certainly informed by that which has come before. This current study will take this argument further into the ancient roots touched on but not fully explained or explored by Quinn, which in turn will give a better understanding of what this all means, not only for the elites but the local non-elite population as well. The intention of an elite or royal monument is dependent on the expectations of a supporting or subjected population and while the political motivations have been discussed, this study will look at not only what these expectations were but also the social implications, allowing for a better understanding

[382] Prados Martínez (2008), 144-174.
[383] Prados Martínez (2008), 120-137.
[384] Quinn (2013) 204-211.

of the ancient society of the indigenous Maghreb and how these tombs and monuments suit and reflect this. As this thesis' argument centres on the Hellenistic tombs as a development and progression of the North African megalithic tradition, from rude stone to ashlar, these categories will not be separated in the following discussion. Equally, as a detailed cataloguing and treatment of the various megalithic tomb types was conducted by Camps in 1961, this argument will be based on analysing the results of this and will not be a repetition of his process, avoiding a purely quantitative approach. This discussion is also not only centred on the mere construction or singular use of tombs but rather the meaning behind these tombs. As Renfrew states about Orcadian burials "no such prodigious expenditure of energy is necessary to get rid of a few corpses", implying there must be more to the creation of large tomb structures than the disposal of the dead.[385] The following chapter will be divided into three sections: Section A will deal primarily with the physical location and setting of the megalithic and Hellenistic tombs; Section B will turn to their actual design and construction; while Section C will focus on the ritual and social role these tombs played. This chapter will therefore focus on the wider role of funerary architecture and practices in the ancient Maghreb as it reflected, projected, and reacted to the various social dynamics of this vast and complex environment.

3A. Location and setting

There are two main aspects that should be considered when approaching an analysis of the location of the Maghreb's ancient tombs. First is to understand the landscape of the region in question so as to better comprehend why certain areas would or would not contain burial sites. This can be broken down into static places, such as significant social or ritual centres, and places along a network, including locations essential for repeated travel. In other words, a distinction could be made between places travelled *to* and places travelled *through*. 'To' places would be those that can be defined as

[385] Renfrew (1979), 221.

ultimate destinations and would primarily be able to sustain relatively large permanent settlements based on guaranteed resources, while 'through' places would be stopping points along a broader network only requiring enough resources to sustain a smaller, semi-permanent community and those travelling along the network. A distinguishing factor here might be an oasis as opposed to a dug well, and plains able to sustain agriculture rather than seasonal wild pastures. However, it is important to note that these definitions and functions can be shared by a single location. This in itself is determined by the communities that created and used the tombs, which leads to the second focus on the practical as well as ritual significance of this chosen landscape. As Blake notes, "the manipulation of space…is a key strategy in self-definition", with inhabitants deliberately altering their surrounds so as to best reflect their society and its mark on the environment; be it through domestic or ritual spaces and structures.[386] As previously discussed, Rakob considers the potentially politically central location of some of the Hellenistic period tombs as an important element for their interpretation.[387] This idea of centre and periphery suggests that the local population is more likely to exhibit their power and dominance at the core of their territory rather than near the boundaries. However, there is no need to exclude the reverse of this, with structures linked to elite control over a particular region visible on entering said region or from a neighbouring, competing territory as potentially demonstrated by Kbor Klib. While Ross argues the monument served to memorialize the Numidian role and victory in the Battle of Zama, the placement of the structure may go beyond marking the site of the battle with the enigmatic structure located very close to the *Fossa Regia*, an argument that will be elaborated on in the following discussion.[388] The core-periphery model is therefore not appropriate to this study and other approaches to landscape analysis will be taken throughout this discussion. A need to articulate control or demarcation of a particular area in the ancient Maghreb, prior even to the

[386] Blake (2007), 234.
[387] Rakob (1983), 326.
[388] Ross (2005).

formation of the large Hellenistic kingdoms or confederations would certainly not be limited to the elites. It is therefore important to understand the socio-political organisation of the ancient Maghreb as, according to Blake's statement above, this will be reflected in the articulation of their built environment. As will become clearer throughout this chapter, the core-periphery model is an unsuitable approach in the case of the funerary landscape of the ancient Maghreb.

3A.1. Landscape and land-use

As Barrett et al. state, landscape is "the entire surface over which people moved and within which they congregated", and is best studied through a time-space perspective which adds the element of periodicity.[389] It is this definition and approach, emphasising intermittent movement and meeting, upon which the following discussion is based. The ancient Maghreb was home to diverse and dynamic communities, which were equally sedentary and nomadic. This diversity is emphasised by the ancient sources where the habitation of different communities ranges from fortified towers to nomadic tents.[390] Therefore, the study of the region's megalithic and monumental architecture must be undertaken in accordance with comprehension of the types of communities who created and interacted with these structures. In other words, the ideological framework within which these structures operated can neither be considered the result of an exclusively sedentary nor exclusively nomadic society. It is also important to bear in mind that the communities in the ancient Maghreb were not homogenous and therefore may have articulated their traditions in diverse and unique ways within the same landscape.[391]

[389] Barrett et al. (1991), 7-8.
[390] See for instance Diodorus Siculus, *Bib*. 3.49.9; Pliny the Elder, *Nat*. 1 and 2.3.
[391] According to Desanges' *Catalogue des Tribus Africaines* (1962) there were well over 150 such communities as recorded by Classical authors and inscriptions. However, much overlap and the complexity of indigenous self-identification (see Fentress (1979), 43-47) makes it almost impossible to see clear divisions in some cases, especially as these sources are from the perspective of foreigners.

According to Wright "[l]andscapes are cultural constructions that are shaped by and always shaping the people who dwell in them", with this 'shaping' dictated by both complex socio-cultural requirements and basic human needs.[392] While it could be argued that this was a requirement necessitated by the increasing territorial pressures of encroaching foreign powers, regarded as the catalyst for the development of the large North African kingdoms from the 4th century BCE, an analysis of the location and context of the pre-existing burials could also add to this interpretation.[393] Essentially the placement of the burial structures in the ancient Maghreb is partly at the discretion of a semi-nomadic pastoral society, therefore understanding the location of these tombs necessitates understanding the people that created and used them.[394] While some established settlements dated to the Numidian period are known, not many permanent settlements have been found.[395] However, Mattingly convincingly argues for an earlier date for the development of regular agriculture and urbanism in the Maghreb, predating the increased foreign contact in this region through radiocarbon dating and stratigraphy which place indigenous urban development below the subsequent Roman layers.[396] As Mattingly states, more archaeological exploration into the sub-Roman layer in already-excavated sites is required before the full extent of pre-Roman and indeed pre-colonial urbanism is understood.[397] Emphasis therefore should be placed on the human-land interaction which leaves little to no archaeological evidence. There are three socio-economic factors linked to the land that would determine the movement and distribution of people in the rural ancient Maghreb: transhumance, periodic markets, and territorial competition.[398] Transhumance, the

[392] Wright (2013), 405.
[393] Brett and Fentress (1997), 24-25.
[394] Cherry (1998), 13.
[395] Pliny the Elder, *Nat*. 2.3, lists Cirta, Sicca, Bulla Regia, Hippo Regius, and Tabraca as important settlements in the Numidian region while Diodorus Siculus, *Bib*. 3.49.4, notes how some leaders live in towers near water sources.
[396] These sites include Althiburos, Mdidi, and Bagat; Mattingly (2016).
[397] Mattingly (2016), 11-13.
[398] The term periodic market is discussed in depth by Shaw (1981).

seasonal movement of flocks and herds, explains a dynamic and broad movement of people, periodic markets would result in central meeting zones, while territorial competition could lead to a diversity in the articulation of funerary traditions.[399]

3A.1.1. Transhumance

It has long been established that the indigenous peoples of the ancient Maghreb were predominantly semi-nomadic pastoralists, who engaged in what Biagetti and Chalcraft term "opportunistic displacement" and the seasonal movement of communities.[400] Therefore, an important element of this society and a factor that will contribute towards understanding their movement and placement of burials across the Maghreb is transhumance, the periodic and repetitive movement of pastoral communities to and from areas of favourable pasturage, creating pathways that were used over many centuries.[401] As the routes of this practice are not recorded in ancient sources, archaeology and modern trends offer insight into where these may have passed.[402] Shaw uses modern North African examples as reasonable parallels for the ancient practice of transhumance as conditions, both socially and ecologically, have largely remained the same for these communities. The general trend for nomadic pastoralists suggests that plains and valleys are areas of predominantly winter transhumance, while summer movement is limited to mountainous areas.[403] Daniels gives an approximation of where these routes may have passed in relation to the 400 mm rainfall isohyet (Map 8), which highlights an important resource that would dictate the paths of this

[399] The definition of and relationship, or lack thereof, between transhumance and pastoral nomadism is discussed by Jones (2005), 357-359, with his strict link to sedentary communities. As it is difficult to ascertain the full extent of permanent settlement in the ancient Maghreb, in this current study transhumance will be regarded as an agricultural technique practiced by semi-nomadic pastoralists. The location of contact and meeting points would depend on the needs of the communities involved which could vary within a defined area, Shaw (1981), 38, 41.
[400] Pliny the Elder, *Nat*. 2.3; Diodorus Siculus, *Bib*. 3.49.2; Cherry (1998), 13. The Saharan Long Pastoral Neolithic Period dates to 6000 – 1000 BCE, Biagetti and Charlcraft (2012), 82, 89.
[401] Horden and Purcell (2000), 63.
[402] Cherry (1998), 13.
[403] Shaw (1981), 41.

movement in the Maghreb, namely access to water.[404] While numerous wadis and *guelta* (water collecting pools) occur throughout the area, their viability is limited to seasonal heavy rains.[405] Herodotus writes of a route through the Libyan Desert that is made possible by the ten-day spacing of springs which Wilson suggests are wells dug by locals.[406] This long distance trans-Saharan trade was well established by the 1st century CE with routes reaching as far south as Lake Chad and central Mali (Map 10). Liverani offers a highly credible reconstruction of this route taking into account the daily distance of a caravan and the 10-day spacing suggested by Herodotus.[407] These were probably ancient routes already developed by this period as noted by Herodotus in the 5th century BCE but would have increased in productivity with the arrival of the Romans.[408] A factor that could have an impact on the routes and distances across the Sahara is that of draft animals. While there is certainly ample evidence for the use of horses and cattle from rock art (Figs.3.2 and 3.3), camels are much more difficult to attribute to the indigenous inhabitants and travellers in this northerly region, with scholarly consensus settling on well into the Roman period for the more widespread use of these animals.[409] Liverani believes this later date is perhaps unfounded as camels were in use in Egypt from the 7th century BCE, and could have been introduced from this region into the west.[410] Nevertheless, as Herodotus' route predates Roman occupation, the absence of the camel from trans-Saharan trade did not prohibit this

[404] Daniels (1987), 233-234. This is supported by Cherry (1998), 13, who believes the modern routes are very similar to what the ancient communities would have used.
[405] Biagetti and Chalcraft (2012), 84.
[406] Herodotus, 4.181-184; Wilson (2012), 411. At one point, when describing the varying temperature of the water throughout the day, Herodotus notes that it cools in the morning at ἀγορῆς (market time). While this could simply be a reference to the pre-noon time of day, it may also suggest that these were gathering sites for trade.
[407] Liverani (2000).
[408] According to Wilson (2012), 411, this earlier route may have run via Abalessa to the Niger Bend based on ancient literature and archaeological finds.
[409] Herodotus, 4.183, 189, for instance speaks of the cattle and chariots used by certain communities. Fentress (1979), 27-28. Horden (2012), 29 does suggest a 1st century CE and perhaps even earlier date for the Saharan use of the camel but evidence for its domination in the Maghreb is likely later.
[410] Liverani (2000), 508-509.

from occurring but would only have allowed for faster travel with greater quantities of goods. The continued use of these routes into the 20th century emphasises the high viability of their location, supporting the argument for their ancient age.[411]

The question of whether the indigenous peoples of North Africa were able to manage water resources prior to the arrival of Rome or whether the later foreign powers introduced these techniques has been debated for some time. Evidence suggests that there were pre-existing water canals by the time Rome founded its settlements as some of the remains of these towns cut through or are on top of these canals.[412] Evidence dated through radiocarbon from Zinchecra also shows the independent, early first millennium BCE development of irrigated agriculture among the Garamantes prior to Roman contact.[413] This access to water would certainly have an effect on the economy and habitation of these arid and semi-arid regions (ASARs) which would lead to dominance in pastoral agriculture. ASARs are prone to low productivity requiring large areas in order to sustain herds, which leads to a relative lack of rights to property as all pastoralists would be affected by and benefit from the same limitations and solutions.[414] This necessity is emphasised by the long distances and large areas associated with transhumance as seen in Map 8. The factors contributing to what some societies would deem arable and productive land cannot necessarily be imposed upon the communities of the ancient Maghreb. As Biagetti and Charlcraft argue, high aridity and the undesirability of a stretch of land are culturally defined and therefore dependent on those that inhabit and live off this land.[415] The important element here with regards to viability of the land is the population size of these transhumant communities. If one is to use modern equivalents to reflect ancient transhumant routes based on the similarity of conditions, then so too could the community numbers of

[411] See The Old World Trade Routes Project, Ciolek (2012).
[412] Shaw (1984), 127; Cherry (1998), 16.
[413] Mattingly (2016), 20-21.
[414] Nugent and Sanchez (1993), 87.
[415] Biagetti and Chalcraft (2012), 80.

today be used as reasonable estimates for ancient populations. Biagetti and Calcraft's case study of transhumant Tuareg communities in the Acacus Mountains shows that the average size of a camp was four to five members spanning three generations, with the maximum recorded as eight individuals and the minimum two. However, they are quick to add that due to the semi-nomadic nature of these communities these numbers fluctuate depending on local conditions.[416] These would then have come together along loose familial lines to form what Whittaker terms clans, expanding and contracting in size as communities relatively free of political oversight from a larger administration. He adds that this fluctuation would result in "the circulation of elites", citing Ibn Khaldun's (14th century) experience of the inconsistent shifting balance of power between these smaller clans and the wider territorial leaders.[417] This instability with regards to leading elites and powerful figures means that no single person or family would hold control long enough to realistically form the semblance of a dynasty over a wide territory. This would result in the likelihood of smaller political units, Whittaker's clans, taking control of more limited areas, leading to a large number of individual territorial units as opposed to a few large centralised regions. This society in constant flux may therefore require permanence in a form outwith the individual personality, and as domestic architecture is not widely attested, megalithic tombs possibly offer an external and arguably impersonal alternative. As these structures could practically be used to house not only a single elite but rather a succession of esteemed individuals related not necessarily by blood but by status, the location and tomb itself transcends the significance of the occupant, becoming the more important focal point in the landscape. A tomb therefore signifies not a single leader but leadership in general. This symbolic nature of the tomb can be seen in the successive inhumations in the megalithic tombs, including dolmens, bazinas, and chouchet, as well

[416] Biagetti and Chalcraft (2012), 85, table 5.1.
[417] Although this anecdotal data is taken from the later Arab period, Whittaker (1978), 332-333, notes the close political similarity to descriptions in ancient sources of pre-Carthaginian North Africa.

as the tower tombs and monumental tumuli, with evidence for re-entry and continued use.[418]

As already stated, the core-periphery model is not appropriate for the ancient Maghreb. For certain tombs to be considered isolated and distant from any known significant site and then to subsequently analyse these tombs through this lens, is to assume that there are a finite number of central locations in the ancient Maghreb. This seems to draw on the modern concept of the centre being a settled environment with unsettled areas being peripheral and less defined.[419] This, however, contradicts the socio-political conditions discussed above, and, as in a pastoral transhumant society such as the ancient Maghreb, this definition is unsustainable as the 'centre' is always moving. Therefore, for pastoral communities to create burial structures only near central, powerful settlements does not make sense, while scattered and apparently disparate locations do. When considering the distribution of tomb and necropolis sites in the Maghreb there appears to be a correlation with known transhumance routes. What first appear to be isolated and far flung structures now appear to adhere to well-travelled pastoral paths. The existence of these paths and the numbers travelling along them may be supported by the later construction of Roman *fossatum* and *clausurae* (Map 9). Although these structures were built in the Roman period, they remain relevant to the study of the preceding periods as they are a reaction to a pre-existing condition.

The earliest construction of liminal features to define Roman and non-Roman regions in the Maghreb can be traced back to the *Fossa Regia* created after the Third Punic War and destruction of Carthage in 146 BCE. Subsequent structures in existence from about the 2nd century CE are still visible in numerous places in southern Tunisia and western

[418] For the megalithic examples see Camps (1961), 140, 161, 172.
[419] Stoddart (1989), 88; Champion (1989), 2, draws attention to the problem of the predominantly Eurocentric definition of this concept in the European historical tradition.

Libya.[420] This earlier *fossa* was used to define the boundary between the newly acquired Roman territory to the east and the land of the Numidian princes to the west.[421] This approximately 400 km boundary stretched from Tabraca on the northern coast of Tunisia, via Vaga and Abthugni, down to Thaenae on the south eastern coast (from number 36 to 53 in Map 9).[422] This was eventually joined by the more widespread frontier system developed under the Emperors Trajan and Hadrian with ditches, walls, gates, and watchtowers forming part of the wider *fossatum Africae* network.[423] These structures took on various forms depending on their use and terrain. Far from being purely defensive, their disconnected nature meant they played varying roles in the Roman occupation of North Africa. One of these structures was the *clausura*, a low wall that was built across valleys and narrow wadis to channel the movement of grazing animals through a specific area, blocking them in one place to ensure passage through another.[424] Through this method Rome was also able to exact tax from a highly mobile population moving over a large area using the same method of channelling.[425]

Examples of these *clausurae* can be found in Wadi Skiffa in southern Tunisia where three low walls ranging from 200 m to 1 km were built across separate wadi beds, while a further stone wall is found at Zraia a few kilometres to the north.[426] Other locations in Tunisia include in the Cherba range near Gafsa and across a wide valley at the foot of Djebel Tebaga which also shows the remains of watchtowers.[427] Similar structures are also found in Libya with Hadd Hajar offering a clear example (Fig.3.4). Here a 6 km long wall stretches across a plane between two hills. To the north east of

[420] Seminal works on Roman frontier structures include Baradez (1949); Trousset (1974).
[421] Poinssot (1907), 467
[422] Broughton (1929), 15.
[423] Mattingly et al. (2013b), 70-72.
[424] Whittaker (1978), 349-350; Cherry (1998), 58-61 discuss the agronomic purpose of these walls.
[425] Raven (1993), 77-8; Cherry (1998), 65.
[426] Mattingly and Jones (1986), 89-91.
[427] Mattingly and Jones (1986), 87; Brogan (1980), 50.

this lies a second shorter wall of about 700 m with the remains of a gate towards the eastern end. Two watchtowers associated with these walls were each located on hills overlooking the plane. Brogan also notes the presence of water sources spaced at approximately 30 km intervals, about a day's journey on foot.[428] The location and collaboration of these structures leads Brogan to conclude that they were used to channel the movements of pastoralist herders away from the wider plane and through the narrower valley to the east where they could pass through a gate.[429] A cross section of the plain (lower line in Fig.3.4) used by travellers approaching the *clausurae* shows two points which offer the flattest terrain (Fig.3.4a). A further analysis of Path 1 shows that this requires a relatively steep ascent before being headed off by the wall (Fig.3.4b). Path 2 (Fig.3.4c), however, remains gentle and follows a natural channel which leads to the second, shorter *clausura* and the gate and therefore the more likely option for transhumant herders and their animals. This channelling effect, while economically adapted by the Romans, may in fact stem from a much older herding and hunting technique practiced in northern Africa and western Arabia.[430]

As ancient indigenous transhumance routes are still in use today, this certainly implies that they were in use prior to the creation of the Roman frontier in North Africa as this would have been in reaction to an established practice.[431] As previously remarked, the construction of physical barriers was most likely used to channel these seasonal movements which allowed for easier taxation of the local population.[432] The fragmentary nature of some of these structures (circled in Map 9) suggests that they were not to act as a complete deterrent; instead they halt the intended path of herders and their animals and enforce a specific route to be followed. This in turn suggests that

[428] Brogan (1980), 45-47. The modern Tuareg in the Acacus Mountains of Libya cover about 20 km with their flocks, Biagetti and Chalcraft (2012), 86-88, this would be further if one were not slowed down by the grazing animals.
[429] Brogan (1980), 50.
[430] Moodie (2018).
[431] Cherry (1998), 13.
[432] Cherry (1998), 62.

a well-established traditional path was in existence where these channelling structures were later erected. This is supported by aligning the routes in Map 10 with the highlighted structures in Map 11 which shows two routes (circled in Map 10) which would have encountered this border. What this emphasises is the impact of the transhumance and trade routes that were followed by the indigenous inhabitants of these areas as they were closely monitored and intercepted by the Romans. This Roman attention not only shows the number of people travelling along these routes – enough to warrant permanent infrastructure to ensure an economic gain – but also the routes taken by these people. While it is easier to associate some tombs sites with nearby towns and settlements, those that appear in relatively isolated locations could in fact be linked to well-used trading routes, suitable for a semi-nomadic society. For example, this can be seen in Map 13 where the major southern routes link the more isolated, non-coastal locations and tombs, including those of Djorf Torba, Taouz, and Foum el Rjam in eastern Morocco, and the Djanet, Ghat, and Acacus necropoleis in eastern Algeria and western Libya (circled on map). To date, no major urban site has been linked to these regions and their large necropoleis. Similar routes would then branch off these large 'highways' to connect lateral regions as seen in Map 12. Map 14 also shows where transhumant routes connected the Sahara with the coastal regions, passing through areas of significant megalithic construction (circled in map), linking these locations to areas of important south-north passages used by herders. As the later development of Roman frontier structures can be used to locate ancient and seemingly archaeologically invisible trade routes, so too can these routes be used to comprehend the location of certain tomb sites, including the location of the large necropolis of Bou Nouara in northern Algeria which Camps and Camps-Fabrer place along an important transhumant route.[433] A similar argument has been made for the seemingly scattered placement of pre-historic rock-art in the ancient Maghreb, in particular the depiction of chariots. Anderson argues that the location of these images

[433] Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 87.

may in fact be along trade routes or were even used to mark these routes for future travellers and traders.[434] The link between tomb sites and the marking of routes and territory will be discussed further below. These routes could subsequently be used to understand the apparent isolated and disjointed locations of some tombs and necropoleis as well as the potential significance of these sites. One such significance, or in fact function, remaining in the sphere of economics is the possible link between tomb sites and periodic markets.

3A.1.2. Periodic markets

The periodic market is a non-permanent site of trade equivalent to Roman *nundinae*. While transhumance would have resulted in herds and flocks being moved to desirable pastures, traders travelling to periodic markets, which too could lie within the Roman frontier zone, would also be taxed. This governing of movement by the Romans can also be underpinned by their desire to halt the unauthorised and therefore uncontrolled gathering of local communities, a fear well attested in Roman cities.[435] Again, while this may be evidenced from the Roman period, the practice and location of periodic markets would have preceded this occupation as this was a Roman reaction to an already established practice. The argument for the location of burials at periodic market sites rests on two premises: that these markets were essential to the semi-nomadic pastoralists, and that they were considered sanctified enough to warrant the construction of tombs. If both of these can be satisfied then the final obstacle, that is the geographic link between markets and indigenous tombs, can be approached. However, this is not to say that all tomb sites were the location of markets or that all market sites included tombs, merely that an overlap of function could have taken place at a single site. This not only offers an interesting socio-economic dynamic to the

[434] Anderson (2016).
[435] Shaw (1981), 47, compares this to Trajan's rejection of the establishment of a fire brigade in Nicomedia to avoid its apparently inevitable transformation into a potentially threatening political body in Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae* 10.33-34. This is comparable to the probable political reaction to the Bacchic cult in 186 BCE, Takács (2000), 303.

structures but also a possible reason for some of the more obscure locations. Camps briefly mentions the proximity of three megalithic tombs to present day weekly markets, Souk Jemmad el Gour, Souk el Khemis Zemamra, and Sidi Slimane.[436] However, he offers no further discussion and his brief interest lies rather in the continued socially unifying function of tombs and necropoleis as opposed to the deliberate economic role these structures could perhaps play. Markets would certainly have been important for transhumant herders to maintain the quality of their herds and flocks as they moved across the Maghreb. Without the continued introduction of new genetic material into the breeding cycle, the production value of the animals would go into decline.[437] The easiest way for this transaction to occur would be to attend semi-regular periodic gatherings in predetermined locations. In addition, due to the nature of seasonal transhumance, this would most probably occur along well-known routes to pastures.

The exact location of periodic markets in the ancient Maghreb can obviously not be pinpointed due to their non-permanent nature.[438] Shaw suggests using Roman period to present day Amazigh examples as a possible way to understand the format and significance of the ancient periodic markets. While Shaw does offer caveats to this approach, such as the introduction and impact of Islamic era beliefs and social norms, due to the society and the landscape remaining relatively similar to that of antiquity, including the stabilizing of the climate, agricultural dependency, and the similar social dynamics of complex inter-community interaction as discussed in Chapter 1, it is reasonable to assume the socio-economic needs of these ancient and modern communities would be comparable.[439] This is exemplified by the case of Kef Smaar in the Tiaret region of Algeria. Here archaeologists have found evidence for possible market activity through the remains of trade products such Campanian B vessels, and

[436] Camps (1961), 564, note 1.
[437] Fentress (2007), 127; see also Nimbkar et al. (2008).
[438] Shaw (1981), 40-41.
[439] Shaw (1981), 39-41.

topographically through the site's ridge location between the two economic spheres of mountain forests and lowland agriculture. The continuation of the importance of this site and its location from antiquity to the modern period is seen in the present use of the associated route by herding communities passing to summer pasturage.[440] A further element of these market places is that they are not limited to economic functions but could also facilitate general and relatively regular communication within a dynamic pastoral community.[441] It could therefore be argued that these locations could take on a long-lasting tradition exceeding their economic purpose. Biagetti and Chalcraft note the apparent symbolic identity of a particular location in the Acacus Mountains frequented by modern semi-nomadic Tuareg communities. They observe that while these disparate herding groups would travel to central watering points, one location, Wadi Teshuinat in the Libyan Sahara, seemed to represent a "favourable place" even though it was neither the closest nor the most productive site. They reason therefore that this location holds a *cultural* significance probably influenced by a long-standing indigenous tradition, which becomes paramount in the lives of the local population even when it is at odds with beneficial ecological and economic practices.[442] A further cultural indicator emphasising the importance of these ancient market sites, beyond simply places of trade, is also evident in the personal name Nundinarius, derived from the Latin word for market, which was used by North Africans in antiquity. As Shaw notes, this naming was a predominantly African practice, suggesting a regionally specific significance of being associated with these kinds of markets.[443] This certainly elevates the importance of these sites beyond simple economics and integrates them into the very identity of the local communities.

[440] Shaw (1981), 49.
[441] Shaw (1981), 39. Even today, modern wedding festivals coupled with periodic markets are held in Morocco to facilitate the needs of small communities, Voice of America (website).
[442] Biagette and Chalcraft (2012), 89.
[443] There are over 40 instances in North Africa while 15 from the rest of the Roman Empire, Shaw (1981), 68.

An ancient link between the sites of periodic markets and religious ritual and practices is attested by an inscription found in the Hassawana region near Tiaret in northern Algeria:

Nundina(s) / annu(as) quod / praecepit /
Iovis (sic) *et Iu/ba et Genius // Vanisnesi /*
quod precepe/runt Dii Ingi/rozoglezim

Here the invocation of Iovis, whom Shaw equates with the African Saturn, alongside local deities including the spirits of Juba, Vanisnesus, and Ingirozoglezim, marks the site as ritually significant as well as directly linked to trade.[444] Although this inscription possibly dates to the later 2nd century CE, the significance of the site could be much more deeply rooted as the holiness of such indigenous market sites persists even to the present.[445] The significance of these sites is also evident in their bringing together of rival nomadic tribes where a neutral area could be appropriated for mutually beneficial trade. As one tribe could not take control over another at these sites, the physical presence or simply spirit through a shrine or tomb of a holy or authoritative third party would maintain the nonalignment of the site.[446] A similar function of neutrality is also argued for the megalithic sanctuaries of Nuragic Sardinia. These sites are considered nodes along a socio-economic network where ritual, political, and commercial interactions could take place between different communities under the authority of a shared sanctified location.[447] As the Maghrebi site itself was perhaps chosen for its sanctity, the structure linked to this impartial yet powerful individual would therefore

[444] *CIL* VIII, 20, 627, Shaw (1981), 51-52; Fentress (2007) 125-126.
[445] Shaw (1981), 51, note 1. Shaw notes how in the modern Moroccan markets on the edge of the Sahara are held on dates of religious significance and are landmarked with a shrine, while the Hassawana market site was later appropriated by a Christian church retaining the sanctity of the location (1981), 51, 53.
[446] Shaw (1981), 53. Fentress (2007), 128, notes that this link between market sites and shrines is not limited to Africa with other pre-Roman cultures too displaying piety in trade.
[447] Webster (2015), 183, 216-217.

be the magnetic draw in a vast area. Some of the more isolated and far-flung megalithic necropoleis could therefore be these 'magnetic centres'.

Here the premises of socio-political importance and sanctity appear to be met. The next step is to identify the possible conditions required to establish a periodic market. For this, the development of the later Roman *nundinae* might hold the clues, which in turn may be found through even later evidence. In order to locate ancient Roman market sites in the Maghreb, Fentress too turns to modern North African equivalents. She notes two important aspects of modern Amazigh markets: they occur on the edges of settlements or in isolated areas, possibly border lands, and they require a sanctified location under the auspices of a saint or holy man. She then combines these two factors to search for potential Roman period sites in the Maghreb, essentially looking for "extra-mural shrines".[448] Fentress notes the predominance of shrines or sanctuaries dedicated to Mercury as evidence for the location of *nundinae*. Placed near Roman-period settlements, these sanctuaries appear to show an emphasis on elevation and/or southern approaches.[449] An example of this is the Temple of Mercury outside Gigthis in south eastern Tunisia (Fig.3.5) which Fentress argues was the site of *nundinae,* as it is located on a slope alongside an important trade route to the south.[450] Further examples are also possibly located at Tiddis (Castellum Tidditanorum) (Fig.3.6) and Timgad (Fig.3.7), where the location of the sites too suggest a link to *nundinae*.[451] As Fentress notes, this probably implies the intention to trade with semi-nomadic pastoralists as they travelled from the Sahara to the coast.[452] If the location of these sites was primarily to serve the indigenous traders and probably tax their goods, this practice of sanctifying a periodic market may be to meet the expectations of these

[448] Fentress (2007), 128.
[449] Examples of this can be seen at Theveste, Lambeasis, Gigthis, Vazi Sarra, and Timgad, Fentress (2007), 130-141.
[450] Fentress (2007), 132.
[451] Both of the proposed sites are located on important trade roads with Timgad's being the main link to the southern transhumance routes, Fentress (2007), 136-139.
[452] Fentress (2007), 135, 141.

traders coming to these sites, implying they would do the same for their own non-Roman trading points. Pre-Roman, indigenous periodic markets therefore appear to be indicated by a sanctified space, expressed through the tomb of an important individual, and a place of economic significance either on a hill, along an important transhumance route, or near a regional border.

This link between the location of certain tombs and markets has been briefly noted by Camps, although he focusses primarily on their shared role of social unification.[453] While he is more interested in this social aspect, a further discussion of the deliberate economic role should be pursued. Fentress too briefly queries whether the tumuli located at some periodic markets are linked to the modern role played by shrines, although no further analysis is made.[454] Support for this argument can be seen in two cases mentioned by Camps: the monumental bazina of Souk Jemad el Gour near Meknes in northern Morocco, and the enigmatic tomb at Sidi Slimane. To this, the less monumental sites of Chemtou, Dougga, and Roknia can also be added. The huge two-stepped bazina of Souk el Gour, 40 m in diameter and at least 5 m high, is associated with a large rectangular platform 35 m to the north east (Fig.3.8).[455] The dating of the tomb is difficult due to the poorly preserved remains, however, Jodin, based on construction techniques and funerary rites, considers the tomb pre-Roman, while Camps suggests a 7th century CE date through ^{14}C dating.[456] The large discrepancy here could be due to the disturbance and reuse of the tomb as evidenced by a crater dug into the summit.[457] This site could therefore have been in use over a number of periods, as during the Islamic era numerous Muslim graves were dug into the nearby

[453] Camps (1961), 564, note 1.
[454] Fentress (2006), 21.
[455] Camp (1960b), 57. This platform is similar to those found at the Medracen and Kbor er Roumia, as well as the later djedar and Blad Guiton tombs, Camps (1960b), 65.
[456] Jodin does concede that this could be a later Amazigh prince, perhaps of Massinissa's line, recalling more ancient funerary architecture and rituals, (1967), 255, 258. Camps' (1999) testing was conducted on coal found in the burial pit.
[457] Camps (1960b), 86-87, also suggests that foreign objects including animal bones may have entered the structure by this means, corrupting the original contents of the tomb.

platform suggesting continuous use of a clearly sanctified site.[458] Two aspects link this tomb to the function of a periodic market site. Firstly, the name of the site alone, loosely 'the hill of the Friday market', denotes the use of the location.[459] While this Arabic name stems from the Islamic period, it may have originated from an ancient practice. As Shaw has demonstrated, the modern use of market sites has barely changed from antiquity, allowing for a reasonable comparison between the two periods. Could the site of the Gour, therefore, have been a market since the period in which it was built? Apart from the name, the religious significance of the tomb has equally persisted with a *seyid*, a shrine to an Islamic saint or holy man, built on top of the bazina as well as the aforementioned graves in the platform.[460] This remains in line with the expectations of an ancient as well as modern market site with the shrines and graves of significant individuals sanctifying the transactions.

Another Moroccan structure that seems to follow the same trend is the tomb at Sidi Slimane. This unique grave resembles a house complete with rooms and walls containing four bodies, including that of a child, in three chambers (A, B, and C in Fig.3.9). The tomb was constructed using adobe bricks, indigenous Barbary thuja wood, and stone slabs.[461] After the inhumation of the bodies, the tomb was completely covered by a large earth tumulus which, until it was excavated, was thought to be a natural hill in the middle of a market place (Fig.3.10).[462] Based on pottery, Ruhlmann dates the tomb to the Roman period, however, Arharbi pushes this back to the 3rd or 2nd century BCE, similarly based on pottery finds, claiming the tomb belonged to the Mauretanian royal family, while Joussaume dates it to as early as the 4th century

[458] Camps (1960b), 69.
[459] Camps (1999). It is a common practice for North African periodic markets to be named after the days of the week on which they are held, Mikesell (1958), 494.
[460] Camps (1960b), 57, 69, 76.
[461] Ruhlmann (1939), 40-58; Souville (1959), 399-400.
[462] The tumulus measured 47 m in diameter, reaching a maximum height of 6 m, Ruhlmann (1939), 37-39.

BCE.[463] This places the tomb well within the indigenous Amazigh tradition. The most significant factor for the current discussion is its location in the centre of an important 20th century periodic market held every Wednesday. The 'hill' was eventually excavated with the intention to remove it from the market space in 1937 when it was discovered to contain the tomb.[464] Once again, the location of a rather significant burial, one perhaps associated with a royal family, in an important periodic market place seems to suggest a link between the two. While it could be argued that the site was chosen regardless of the tomb, which in fact was believed to be a hill, the location appears to have been less than suitable for a large market as this impediment was eventually removed. This may imply that the site was chosen for a more significant reason despite the unsuitability of the location, which may be the sanctity of the tomb itself with this knowledge lost over time and the once important tumulus becoming merely a 'hill'.

Today known for the important Roman period quarry, Chemtou was also the site of a significant pre-existing Amazigh settlement, including bazina burials. These were eventually completely buried under the Roman period forum, a space for transactions.[465] While this could simply be due to the expansion of the Roman settlement, pre-existing tombs are rarely if ever covered by Roman period construction and significant building work would need to have taken place to cover these rather large tombs. Turning to Dougga, here again a pre-Roman settlement developed into a Roman period city. However, in this case the tombs are left undisturbed while structures go up around them (Fig.2.25). Significantly, these megalithic tombs are located on the edge of a cliff, outside the ancient town walls, and interestingly the area still attracts ritual interactions with the nearby cisterns up until recently being the site of modern sacred offerings to local saints (Fig.3.11).[466] Mikesell offers a further function of market places that may account for the location of certain tomb sites. He

[463] Ruhlmann (1939), 65, Arharbi (2009), 246-247, and Joussaume (1988), 231.
[464] Joussaume (1988), 230-231.
[465] Rakob (1993b), 4-8.
[466] As informed by local guide, Ridha ben Elhedi, pers. com. May 2018.

notes how the location of a modern Maghrebi market can occur on the border between two agricultural areas, each providing different tradable produce; the *bled seguia*, land with crops under irrigation, and the *bled bour*, dry land with no irrigation.[467] This boundary marking element, however, need not be limited to rainfall and agricultural production but could also be extended to territoriality and regional control.

The vast dolmen necropolis of Roknia in northern Algeria might fit this description. Located on a cliff-side overlooking the foothills of the Atlas Mountains, Roknia is well placed along an apparent border land, suitable for the location of an indigenous market site (Fig.3.12). Today the top of the cliff is used for crop production, while the valley below show signs of animal grazing. It has also been suggested that the modern structures built nearby are shrines to local saints, evidencing continued ritual interaction with this site.[468] The importance of these borders and the role of tombs in delineating them is further supported by the recent work of Cruz-Folch and Valenzuela-Lamas. By analysing the location of indigenous tombs, their burial rites, and the practices of animal husbandry as evidenced by the faunal remains in these tombs, they have argued for indigenous territorial divisions along lines of differing stock rearing practices. Comparing these divisions to the subsequent Roman provincial boundaries they argue that these in fact maintain the pre-existing territorial divisions, emphasising the use of megalithic tombs beyond simply funerary disposal and the continuation of ancient indigenous traditions.[469] This is certainly not to argue that all necropoleis and tomb sites were meant to be periodic markets, in the same way that not all extra-mural shrines in the Roman period were used as trading areas. Rather, this offers a potential reason for the location and significance of some of the more obscurely situated megalithic necropoleis, providing them with not only a religious and funerary context

[467] Mikesell (1958), 498.
[468] As informed by local guide, Rafik Cheraitia, pers. com. October 2017.
[469] Cruz-Folch and Valenzuela-Lamas (2017).

but also a socio-economic importance. This too raises the question of the link between tombs and territoriality.

3A.1.3. Territorial markers

ASARs require careful management and cooperation to provide the necessary productivity to sustain communities relying on their limited natural resources, resulting in competition among the invested parties. As stated above, the argument has been made that as this low productivity, and therefore a greater need for more space, would affect everyone in the same way, property rights would not necessarily be in effect.[470] However, as the socio-political conditions of the ancient Maghreb resulted in small, heterogeneous units, to disregard the presence of any and all competition for land and its resources is misleading. The importance of springs and oases is attested by Diodorus Siculus who claims leaders built large towers near water sources.[471] The reasoning behind this is unstated, but it could be to stake a claim over and protect this resource so as to retain it for the use of the immediate community. The same could be true of certain areas of land. As water catchments are dependent on avoiding the rain shadow caused by the orographic rainfall in mountainous areas, and the presence of productive wadis, having continued and guaranteed access to these types of areas would have been important, not only for settled communities but also those moving herds and flocks. Therefore, in the case of competition between communities requiring the same resources and the low number of permanent settlements, tombs could be used to define these boundaries, as argued by Cruz-Folch and Valenzuela-Lamas above. This link to water and its sources and flow can be seen in the example of the keyhole monuments and tumuli tombs near modern Djanet in eastern Algeria (Map 15). Here construction appears to be grouped around significant seasonal water courses along the edge of a large plain where herders would arguably have passed, as demonstrated

[470] Nugent and Sanchez (1993), 87.
[471] Diodorus Siculus, *Bib*. 3. 49.4.

in the routes seen in Maps 10 and12 to 14. Placing tombs at these strategic locations could therefore be the physical marking of territories and their resouces by specific communities and their leaders, in line with Diodorus Siculus' above claim.

As previously discussed, an argument for some of the Hellenistic period monuments acting as territorial markers has already been suggested. Ross' claim that Kbor Klib was used to mark and commemorate the location of the Battle of Zama too suggests a deliberate and visible location of the structure, not only for indigenous communities to acknowledge but perhaps also for the benefit of the new Roman territory and their nearby *Fossa Regia*. Rakob too argues for a link between the centres of royal Numidian power and the location of the monumental Hellenistic-era structures marking the areas as under their control, and, as the Medracen for instance lies only 5 km west from the seasonal waters of the Sebkha Djendli, control over natural resources.[472] Could the same practice of staking claim over a certain area and its productivity be a factor in the placement of some of the megalithic tombs? The use of tombs as territorial markers has a long tradition and is certainly not limited to the Imazighen or even the Mediterranean. Saxe's Hypothesis 8 considers burials as reflecting a community's identity and right to control a certain area and its resources through the continuation of the inhumation of ancestors in cemeteries, associating themselves intrinsically with the land.[473] Renfrew's important work on the matter uses the British island examples of Arran and Rousay arguing for the use of tombs to differentiate land ownership in an increasingly competitive agricultural society.[474] According to him, territorial behaviour is exhibited by the creation of unique symbolic markers, much like the tombs of one's ancestors. What is most fitting for this current study is Renfrew's assertion that this need for the articulation of territoriality is most evident in segmentary societies, namely small communities relatively independent of pronounced centralised

[472] Rakob (1983), 326.
[473] Saxe (1970), 119.
[474] Renfrew (1976), 208-211.

hierarchies.[475] This characteristic certainly suits the socio-political conditions of the pre-kingdom Maghreb with its small tribal groupings and the shifting balance of power.[476] Although his methods and results have been met with reservations as more tombs were discovered, disrupting Renfrew's neat divisions based on equal spacing and arable potential, the underlying hypothesis remains tenable.[477] In his argument, Renfrew locates the territory-marking tombs at the centre of the defined area, but adds that this does not imply a centralised settlement, which can remain dispersed, only a symbolic and ritual centre. Here Renfrew uses the distinction between the function of the tombs as places of inhumation from their significance as territorial markers, similar to his abovementioned quote on the significance of tombs surpassing their function only as burials.[478]

Part of territorial marking is the actual delineation of boundaries. Tombs can also be used to define edges of these territories, as Parker Pearson for instance argues that the placement of the Sutton Hoo burial (6^{th} – 7^{th} century CE, Suffolk) locates it as a marker on the border between two contesting powers.[479] Renfrew too adjusts his earlier conclusions about the location of territorial markers. While a need for visibility might dictate the location of a tomb on an appropriate hill and therefore in a more centralised location within an area, he posits other burial structures could be deliberately placed at the borders of controlled areas, marking the start of a new territory.[480] Spatial distribution has also been taken into consideration with Mycenaean tombs. Mee and Cavanagh use Renfrew's premise to consider whether *tholoi* and chamber tombs could have been used to define boundaries of territories if visible from afar, as well as divisions within territories if in more obscured locations, although they

[475] Renfrew (1976), 205.
[476] Pre-kingdom here refers to the period prior to the development of the large centralising Hellenistic period kingdoms under such rulers as Syphax, Gaia, and Massinissa.
[477] Parker Pearson (2003), 132-134.
[478] Renfrew (1976), 206-208.
[479] Parker Pearson (1995), 205-209.
[480] Renfrew (1979), 222.

do not seem entirely convinced by this.[481] However, these numerous suggestions for the functions of the tombs beyond inhumation and with regards to their location implies that there could be more than a single answer to this question and a number of overlapping and diverse uses for a single structure in a network of similar structures. Fentress notes how apparently strategically placed tumuli with a high degree of visibility from local settlements as well as the use of tower tombs near Uzali Sar may have been used to mark specific territories or estates.[482]

As previously stated, the location of the Chemtou, Kbor Klib, and possibly the addition of the unknown structure at Althiburos, could be linked to the marking of Numidian territory along what later became the *Fossa Regia*, a division between this kingdom and Roman territory.[483] The height of these structures, both naturally through hill locations and artificially through sheer volume, allows for a high degree of long-distance visibility. The same is true for the Medracen, Kbor er Roumia, Es Soumaa, and the Beni Rhenane and Dougga towers which are all located in prominent positions in the landscape. Apart from being highly visible, these tombs and structures are also highly distinctive and can rarely be confused with a natural feature or even with other manmade structures in their surroundings. With only the simplest local knowledge, one is able to recognise each of these structures on approach and, if not linked to a specific individual or kingdom, acknowledged at least as a mark of importance and power. Variety in design, therefore, becomes important as each structure is distinguishable from the other. This aspect of consistency and variety will be discussed further below. Prominence in the landscape is not only evident in the monumental Hellenistic period structures, but is also applicable to the megalithic tombs and necropoleis. As stated before, hilltops, cliff sides, and scree slopes are common locations for many of these

[481] Mee and Cavanagh (1990), 229-230, 242.
[482] Fentress (2006), 16-17.
[483] See the discussion in Chapter 2.

tombs, allowing for increased visibility and identification.[484] However, simply placing a tomb in a prominent location may not be enough in order to fully comprehend the use of these structures. The problem with the use of territory-marking tombs in the ancient Maghreb is the relatively high mobility of the society in general. While some communities would certainly be more sedentary and therefore be able to create dedicated necropoleis, Charles argues that those that move too frequently or for too long would not necessarily be able or inclined to do so.[485] If this were indeed the case in the Maghreb, it could be that cemeteries were used not by single communities but in fact all peoples moving through this region, possibly resulting in a variety of tombs within the same cemetery. Discoveries in Kenya support the claim that nomadic societies created and used megalithic necropoleis. In the region of Lake Turkana in northern Kenya, so-called pillar sites incorporating standing stones, circular stone platforms, rings, and cairns have been associated with the burials of early herding communities (4300 – 3800 BP).[486] Megalithism is therefore not limited to sedentary societies, and, as has been shown in this current section, was vital to the socio-economic fabric of the mobile communities of the ancient Maghreb. In that case, turning to the structures themselves would shed light on the traditions occurring in necropoleis and burial sites which may serve to further emphasise the importance and potential of the ancient North African megalithic tradition which came to inform the later Hellenistic period tombs. A clearer picture of the dynamic role played by megalithic tombs in the ancient Maghreb starts to come to the fore. From socio-political links and boundaries to trade and economic functions, the interpretation of a tomb should certainly not be limited to the final resting place of a deceased. By placing tombs in strategic locations, the structures straddle the world of the dead and that of

[484] See the examples in the introduction to this chapter including the keyhole monuments. See also Bou Nouara, Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964); and Dougga, see above.
[485] Parker Pearson (2003), 137; Charles (1995), 78-79.
[486] Hildebrand et al. (2011); Hildebrand and Grillo (2012).

the living, becoming significant not only for the afterlife of the deceased but also the continued daily functions of the living.

Section B: Structure and setting of the Maghreb tombs

There are a number of problems that can arise when analysing a society through its burial practices. As seen in Table 3, O'Shea details four main principles that underlie the majority of funerary traditions and can be applied cross-culturally. However, as O'Shea's table demonstrates, there are also a number of considerations that can create variation and need to be taken into account. While there are certain inalienable tenants, to assume that all societies follow the same universal practices in an unwavering manner can lead to misidentification and oversight as this would vary from community to community. It is also problematic to assume the perfect preservation of each burial. Considering the time difference between primary inhumation and the present day, placing too much emphasis on a single aspect of a tomb without considering this as part of a much larger whole, in terms of both physical and temporal conditions, will certainly lead to problems in interpretation. These factors should certainly be taken into consideration in the study of the ancient Maghreb. Due to the broad chronology and relative lack of insight into the communities that created them, the study of burial remains can be a veritable minefield of misinterpretations and false assertions.

Much has been made of the diverse range of burial structures found throughout the Maghreb and into the Sahara. From simple mounds to mausolea, the different tomb types have caused speculation about the people that made them and how they differ or are similar to those found in the Mediterranean. Although some of the Amazigh tombs are regionally specific and seem to follow a localised trend and therefore a certain community's needs, others appear over a far wider area and do not seem to adhere to particular localities at all. The presence of diverse tombs in a single

necropolis has also led to differing views on the communities that created them. As previously stated, the diversity in Maghreb tombs could either be due to construction during different periods and therefore show progression in a single location, or by different communities in the same area following their own cultural beliefs. This section therefore will focus not only on the physical construction of the tombs but also their immediate setting and engagement with the topography, their orientation, their external structures, and finally their materiality. Through this approach, all elements that make a structure specific to a particular community will be taken into a consideration and provide a far more comprehensive analysis of these burials in their complete context.

3B.1. Topography and setting

As Section A focusses on the wider landscape factor and how the land was interacted with by indigenous communities, the current discussion centres more on the role topography played in the setting of the megalithic tombs. The analysis of this setting can be divided into two categories: the sacred significance of locality and the physical implication of place. While certain elements of these can overlap, there are a number of ways in which a setting is chosen not for convenience but for a more symbolic reason. As Parker Pearson notes, the placement of tombs in a landscape is not simply for the ease of disposal but holds a deeper significance for those responsible, with the potential for the deceased to remain active in their community.[487] This section will focus on the concept of areas of sacred significance before turning to more physical elements, namely the visibility of the tombs and their orientation. While some factors lend themselves more to simple convenience, such as available materials and compensating for terrain, these are not limited to the profane and can still be imbued with a deeper ritualistic meaning.

[487] Parker Pearson (2003), 141.

3B.1.1. Areas of sacred significance

The religion of hunter-gatherer and pre-agricultural societies has always been linked to the environment in its physical form due to the dependency of these communities on the land for survival.[488] This interaction with the environment was centred on two distinct nodes of activity which Colson terms "places of power", in which unaltered natural features such as caves, mountains, pools, and trees serve as ritual sites, and "shrines of the land", where man-made structures or augmentations were central to sacred attention and practices.[489] Mather includes the concept of "[s]acred or ceremonial geography" with specific locations holding deep significance for specific peoples, which is certainly the case for the previously mentioned Kel Tadrart Taureg communities.[490] Moving beyond the natural features, a community would then create their own structures so as to bring it under their control, rendering the natural world "domesticated".[491] This is similar to the concept put forward by Scheele and McDougall where physical constructions in a certain stretch of land symbolise the power and ability to both ease as well as halt movement through a specific area, showing 'custody' over the land.[492] A traveller passing through the area would therefore be reassured upon seeing recognisably man-made structures, knowing the land is inhabited and therefore life-sustaining as indicated by notable landmarks aiding navigation. Furholt and Müller's argument that significant megalithic tombs offer visual stability through the reinforcement of social dynamics, supports this concept of institutionalised messages of tenure.[493] This links to the argument made above that the location of some necropoleis are associated with well-travelled trade routes across the Maghreb and into the Sahara. Combined with Anderson's assertion that chariot depictions in

[488] Scarre (2011), 10. Religion here will be used in its widest definition including ritual practices and cosmogony as related to the sacred world of ancient North Africans.
[489] Colson (1997), 49 & 52, also discussed by Mather (2003), 26; Scarre (2011), 10-11.
[490] Mather (2003), 25; on Kel Tadrart see Biagetti and Chalcraft (2012), 89; see Section A of this chapter.
[491] Mather (2003), 27.
[492] Scheele and McDougall (2012), 14.
[493] Furholt and Müller (2011), 16-17.

rock-art were used in a similar way to mark productive or safe routes, the indigenous communities would certainly have been aware of this function of the tombs as landmarks indicating a passage through a harsh environment.[494]

Apart from the obvious association with elevations, which will be examined further below, North African tombs also appear to have a strong affinity with water. Numerous tombs and necropoleis are positioned along or within a few hundred yards of wadis and at river mouths, best exemplified by the keyhole monuments and tumuli in the Tamanrasset province and Djanet region in south eastern Algeria.[495] As can be seen in Map 15, four general areas of these tombs, with perhas a fifth to the north, are located within close proximity of major wadi systems. Upon closer inspection of two groupings within these areas, structures are seen located directly at the confluences of streams between ridges and along the path of this seasonal water (Figs.3.13 and 3.14). In Fig.3.14 the location of tombs even places them in the path of intermittently running water which may in fact have been the intention of the builders, although this runs the risk of flooding and disturbing the tomb. This link to and reverence for water is hardly surprising in the Maghreb where life revolved around access to this resource. Positioning tombs near to water, directly in the floodplain or within a few hundred meters, also ties in with the argument made above about territoriality and land use.[496] This may also reflect the local practice of building towers near water sources, as noted by Diodorus Siculus, so as to protect this important resource, showing a certain community's ownership through the location of their tombs.[497] The worship of deities associated with water and mountains is certainly evident from Roman period inscriptions, with sources, springs, and wells the centre of this religious attention.[498] This custodial aspect can also be seen at the vast elevated necropoleis of Bou Nouara

[494] Anderson (2016).
[495] Reygasse (1950), 52-56.
[496] See Section A.
[497] Diodorus Siculus, *Bib*. 3.49.3.
[498] Desanges (1981), 436-437.

and Roknia, which overlook the rivers Oued Berda and Oued Mouger respectively, while this characteristic continues into the Hellenistic period:

- The Medracen – en route to Sebkha Djendli (Lacus Regius) c. 5 km to the east
- Kbor er Roumia – directly overlooking the fertile Oued Djer to the south
- Kbor Klib – overlooking a tributary of Oued Siliana to the south east
- Chemtou monument – overlooking the Oued Mejerda c.500 m to the south
- Es Soumaa – overlooking the confluence of Oued Berda and Oued el Melah c.4 km to the south west
- Beni Rhenane – overlooking Oued Tafna c.600 m to the west

As these structures are sufficiently far removed from major settlements, the location does not appear to be dependent on them and consequently the settlement's own need for close proximity to water. Therefore, the location of these structures is outwith the population's basic need for this resource. The three that do not have a clear and direct link to a body of water are the tower tombs of Dougga, Sabratha B, and Henchir Bourgou. As will become clearer throughout this chapter, these three structures appear to satisfy different traditions, ones that did not necessarily need to strictly adhere to the pre-existing practices or expectations of the indigenous Maghreb.

Part of the decision-making process involved in location selection is also dictated by attitudes towards the dead. One such aspect is the separation of the dead from the living.[499] From the first megalithic tombs to contain human remains 5000 years ago to the highly elaborate monuments of the Hellenistic period, the proximity of tombs to settlements and indeed to other tombs appears to change over time. As an example, three phases were identified in the Fewet Oasis (western Libya) over a period of almost 2500 years. Between 3000 and 2000 BCE (Phase I) isolated yet highly visible tombs linked to high ranking men were dotted throughout the region, avoiding areas of human activity. Phase II (2000 to 1500 BCE) saw a move to cluster tombs, including

[499] Parker Pearson (2003), 124-125.

those of women and children, closer together and also closer to settlements and agricultural areas. The third and final phase up to 700 BCE marks a distinct rise in social stratification through architecture and grave goods as well as ceremonial demarcation, moving towards a more obvious necropolis setting.[500] This trend is also followed in Fazzan where between 3000 and the mid-1st millennium BCE there too appears to be a growing development of social stratification and the nucleation of tombs.[501] This move from isolated to integrated shows a shift in the role of the deceased in the community. Isolation can result in prominence; if a tomb stands alone it also stands out which may imply that the occupant too is of an eminent social position. Necropoleis, on the other hand, show an increased permeation of social stratification as megalithic burial is now not limited to a single elite but rather a hierarchy of individuals. Could this development be used to give a general chronology for the tombs of North Africa? Ranging from a couple of tombs on the road to Maktar, dozens of tumuli at Gastel, and thousands lining a cliff edge at Roknia, a necropolis could take on any shape or size in the ancient Maghreb. However, before one can assume that fewer tombs equates to increased elitism, one would need to ascertain the size of the community involved. If a large settlement produced hundreds of tombs this could imply a more egalitarian society. If this tomb number was limited to a handful, the number of elites becomes more exclusive. However, if a very small community created a limited number of tombs, this too could indicate shared prominence as the ratio of tombs to the number of individuals in the settlement remains high. Unless more data with regards to the population numbers becomes available, this method of inference has to remain hypothetical.

An interesting element of the Maghreb necropoleis is that they were not necessarily limited to a single tomb type. The Kalaat es Snam necropolis contains dolmens and

[500] Liverani et al. (2013), 213-214.
[501] Mattingly and Edwards (2003), 217-218.

haouanet, and at times the two are merged to form a dolmenic-hanout.[502] Djebel Meimel hosts a bazina as well as a large ambulatory tumulus, while Henchir el Assel and Djebel Merah have tumuli as well as dolmens.[503] This use of multiple tomb types in a single necropolis needs to be analysed in light of O'Shea's caution that these need not be contemporary.[504] If these various tomb types are in fact contemporary it could be argued that multiple communities are using a single significant location to express their unique burial tradition.[505] The location of the Bou Nouara necropolis at the confluence of an important wadi system and routes of nomadic travel would have led to diverse communities travelling along this route, all using this significant site for burials articulated in their unique styles resulting in the variety of tombs seen in this necropolis (Table 4).[506] If, however, these are not contemporary and one precedes the other, the significance of the location continues but the tomb typology could in fact belong to the same community, separated by time and cultural development. The same appears to be the case for the keyhole monuments and tumuli near Djanet in eastern Algeria, where the two structures are located at the same sites. Map 7 shows how these megalithic constructions are distributed in the landscape with no real division between the location of the two in relation to each other or their setting as can be seen in the inset of this map. Regardless, the fact that diverse tomb types appear in the same place reinforces the site as important as well as highlights the dynamic and evolving nature of indigenous burial traditions, befitting the fluid socio-political environment as discussed in Section A.

An important aspect of these necropoleis is the arrangement of the tombs within them. This is demonstrated at the Fewet Oasis where smaller tombs are often clustered

[502] Deyrolle (1909b).
[503] For Djebel Meimel see Camps (1961), 195; (1973), 508-509; for Henchir el Assel see Camps (1961), 126; for Djebel Merah see Camps (1961), 71, 132
[504] See previous discussion of O'Shea (1984) and Table 3.
[505] Schierhold (2011), 182, discusses this possibility with regards to northern European gallery graves.
[506] Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 87.

around larger ones. The largest, though, are usually isolated from other tombs.[507] This appears to suggest a link between prominent figures and the importance of proximity to them for subsequent burials, a concept that will be discussed in greater depth in Section C below. Midgley, in her work pertaining to northern European megalithism, even suggests that these tombs and necropoleis are a reflection of houses and settlement plans.[508] While the distribution of burials within a certain space starts to resemble the layout of a village, it is difficult to reconcile the North African examples with this argument as stone was rarely used in the construction of general Maghrebi settlements beyond elite fortifications.[509] This deliberate placement of tombs within a certain environment can also be analysed with regards to their visibility and orientation. Not only is it important to analyse where a tomb is placed in the landscape, but also how.

3B.1.2. Visibility

A burial is not inherently visible as this most often takes place beneath the ground. Therefore, the addition of a construction above and around the burial which adds height and volume implies the importance of prominence in the landscape for immediate visibility and identification. From the earliest megalithic constructions in the 3rd millennium BCE to the development of increased monumental architecture in the Hellenistic period, tombs became an important part of the landscape of the ancient Maghreb. The topography of parts of the Maghreb lends itself well to long-distance visibility. The unhindered horizon over the large plains, the dramatically rising mesas, and low to no vegetation of the more arid zones means a tomb structure of only a few meters would be visible from a distance. According to Midgley, this guaranteed visibility through a "privileged location" meant the significance of the burial was not

[507] Di Lernia et al. (2002a), 42, 58.
[508] Midgley (2011), 127.
[509] Diodorus Siculus, *Bib*. 3.49.3 states they have no real cities, only the leaders' towers near water sources.

limited to the immediate but remained relevant to later observers as a permanent fixture in the landscape, therefore blending the past, present, and future.[510] The deliberate visibility of a tomb implies an ongoing role within the landscape, as both a point of memory, of the deceased and as a landmark, as well as a point of social gathering. This aspect of on-going interaction will be discussed further below with regards to the architectural elements designed for this purpose.

It is clear from the placement of certain necropoleis that visibility was of paramount importance. The chapel tumuli at Taouz, situated on a summit, would have been visible from the wadi below, the necropolis of Bou Nouara stretched up the side of Djebel Mazela, from foot to summit, creating a continuous expanse of tombs, while the Djebel Goraa dolmens sweep along the eastern and southern slope of this hill and along its ridgeline, with similar conditions at the necropolies of Roknia and Dougga.[511] Most megalithic tombs in the Maghreb appear to be associated with hills, summits, or prominent natural features resulting in their heightened visibility in the landscape, whether this is in isolation or as part of a vast necropolis. Association here means either on the summit or up the slope in a prominent and clear position giving good visibility from or of the tombs. This need to be visible and positioned on a slope or summit seems to be one of the most important elements as it can result in awkward construction. The keyhole monuments and tumuli of the Tamanrasset province and Djanet region in southern Algeria can be taken as a case study to analyse this further. As shown in Gazateer 2, the vast majority of these structures are located either on a slope, on a terrace, on a ridge, between outcrops, or at the foot of a hill. Maps 7 and 15 also show how these structures skirt the open plains of this region, sticking instead to the rough terrain at the eastern and nothern edges. This choice appears to be paramount as it often leads to awkward construction. For example, as shown in

[510] Midgley (2011), 122-123.
[511] For Taouz see Belmonte et al. (1999), 26; for Djebel Mezala see Santucci and Khoumeri (2008), 66, for Djebel Goraa see Camps (1961), 136-137.

Fig.3.15, a keyhole monument was built on a relatively steep 23.5° incline with the passage approach facing up the slope. Engaging with this tomb would therefore require attendants not only to negotiate the slope but also the loose materials underfoot. Even though this would be an awkward interaction, the prominence of the tomb takes preference over the comfort and ease of the attendants. As seen in Fig.3.16, this arrangement creates a striking feature in the landscape and would have been easily visible to passing travellers, the likely intention of the tomb. As demonstrated in Map 15, a possible path (dotted line) may have linked these groups of structures, as modern road has been built for at least the first southry section of this proposed route.

Visibility between tombs, however, does not always appear to be a requirement. As mobility played a large role in these communities, tombs in the same necropolis need not necessarily be limited to a single field of vision. A site could in fact be spread around the foot of a ridge and as one moved further along it more tombs would become visible. Again, the keyhole monuments and tumuli of southern Algeria offer a good example of the expanse that could be covered by a single necropolis. These sites seem to adhere to a natural path along the foot of the ridge and the gentle plane below (Fig.3.17). As these tombs were created and used by a non-static society with limited permanent settlements, the idea of a dynamic necropolis spread over a wider area is more suitable to the nature of the community's sense of environmental engagement. Size too plays a role in this. While some tomb types are modest, such as dolmens and smaller tumuli, others lend themselves to a greater degree of monumentality such as bazinas.[512] Furholt argues that this increase in size serves no real purpose other than to emphasise visibility and therefore relative prominence of the occupant through an ostentatious display of status.[513] However, this argument of ranked importance linked to tomb size should be tempered by the availability of materials and the ability of

[512] The Djebel Meimel and Souk el Gour bazinas for instance display monumentalism with excessive dimensions, Camps (1961), 195, (1973), 483.
[513] Furholt (2011), 109.

builders. Relative size and grandeur can only be taken into consideration within a single necropolis and among similar tomb types. Therefore, the occupant of the Medracen is arguably more important than those of the smaller tombs around it, but the same cannot be said when comparing the even greater size of the Kbor er Roumia to that of now smaller Medracen. Both monumental tumuli are the tombs of kings and in their own setting are the grander burials. Although some tomb-types may be larger than others, this need not be directly linked to status, with the above-mentioned factors too playing a role.

3B.1.3. Orientation

Apart from the visibility *of* a tomb, the visibility *from* a tomb should also be analysed with regards to the spatial experience of these structures. This is most notable in the orientation of these tombs. Camps warns that it is unwise to think the orientation of the megalithic tombs is paramount to their construction.[514] However, it is equally unwise to consider it irrelevant. The scientific study of the orientation of megalithic tombs and pre-Roman temples in North Africa, although not exhaustive, has been conducted through case studies. While this may lead to generalised conclusions about the preference for or aversion to specific orientations, it remains a valuable element of analysis for a wider understanding of ancient sacred structures. A number of studies were conducted in the 1990s and early 2000s on the orientation of pre-Roman tombs and temples in the Maghreb. Belmonte's team focussed their attention on northern and Saharan Morocco, as well as Tunisia; that of Esteban on North West Africa more broadly; Santucci and Khoumeri turned to the specific Algerian necropoleis of Djebel Mezala, Roknia, and a few tombs in Kabyle; while Hoskin undertook a wider Mediterranean study with the inclusion of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia (see results in Table 5).[515] A limited Libyan case study was also undertaken in the Fewet oasis where

[514] Camps (1961), 547.

[515] Belmonte et al. (1999), while their intention was to study a number of sites, access and poor preservation limited this to the necropoleis of Taouz and Foum al Rjam; Belmonte et al. (1998), this

97% of tombs were found to be facing east and west.[516] Through these studies, certain trends start to appear in the way tombs are orientated over a large area of the Maghreb. The majority of sites show a preference firstly for southerly, then easterly, and, at times, westerly orientations. With regards to the purpose of these directions, there is an obvious link to the path of the sun or moon, but astronomical elements could also be the focal point including the Southern Cross and α and β Centuari.[517] This preference is certainly in accordance with the indigenous belief where the sun and the moon played a central role.[518] The noticeable absence here is a northerly orientation. Of the cases examined, an exception can be found at the haouanet of El Guetma where, alongside the eastern and southern angles, a handful of northern orientations are also evident.[519] This unusual occurrence could simply be due to the tomb type, as haouanet are reliant on cliff faces and natural outcrops which may dictate their orientation. While there certainly appears to be a high degree of selection with regards to this practice and desired orientations are usually met, the El Guetma tombs could be as easterly-facing as allowed by the topography. The general absence of a northerly orientation is best explained through the lack of any association to the path of the sun. This direction offers no significant exposure to light, and as the sun is one of the most important elements of indigenous religion, this rarity makes sense when it comes to tomb orientation.[520]

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focusses on the dolmens of Elles, Maktar, Dougga, and Bulla Regia and the haouanet of Ben Yasla, El Guetma, and Chaouach; Esteban et al. (2001), this focussed specifically on pre-Islamic temples but included pre-Roman sites relevant to the scope of the current study including Chemtou, Kbor Klib, Maktar, and Kerkouane; Santucci and Khoumeri (2008), all these tombs are associated with indigenous, pre-Roman communities; Hoskin (2001), the entirety of this vast region is covered in ten pages but the inclusion of Tunisian sites is significant. However, Hoskin relies on the pre-existing studies of Savary (1966 and 1969) and Belmonte et al. (1999) for Algeria and Morocco respectively. All the results are presented in Table 5.

[516] See specifically Liverani et al. (2013), 211.

[517] Santucci and Khoumeri (2008), 70; Belmonte et al. (1998), 11, 13 & 22; Esteban et al. (2001), 78.

[518] Fentress (1978), 510.

[519] Belmonte et al. (1998), 12-13.

[520] Herodotus 4.188 notes how the nomads sacrifice to the sun.

Topographical features themselves could also be the object of a structure's orientation such as the significant peak near Roknia's dolmens, or in fact other ritual structures such as the easterly orientation of the tombs at Chemtou facing the prominent peak monument in the distance.[521] This can also perhaps be seen at Kbor er Roumia as noted in Chapter 2. In some cases orientations seem to take preference over ease of construction and access with numerous keyhole monuments in Djanet and Tamanrasset facing either east or south east even if this is up a hill or slope. As these structures were most likely reached on foot, terrain and topography may also play a role in their placement and public engagement. Steep ground with acute inclines or a loose surface covering would make it difficult to approach a structure from a certain angle but with the keyhole monuments this does not appear to impact the location choice. The example from Djanet illustrated in Fig.3.16 is certainly not an isolated case and a number of the tombs in this area follow the same trend. Taking into consideration the above findings, it would appear that the majority of tombs created in pre-Roman North Africa are of an easterly, south-easterly, or southerly orientation with a negligible number of deviations from this trend. This emphasis is seen throughout the development of funerary architecture in the Maghreb, from the earliest tombs to the monumental burials of the Hellenistic period. The orientation of structures is of course complicated when it has no obvious sides, such as round tumuli or bazinas. However, this factor was overcome by adding external features to the core tomb.

3B.1.4. External structures and annexes

Elements of the tombs that lend themselves to the analysis of their orientation are the associated ritual spaces and structures external to the tombs themselves. These additions are either structurally linked to the tomb or stand a short distance from it and can be found at a number of sites. Not all tomb types exhibit these enhancements, but those that do manifest this practice in a variety of ways. The most common structurally

[521] For Roknia see Santucci and Khoumeri (2008), 71; for Chemtou see Esteban et al. (2001), 76-77.

connected elements are arms and antennae created from rows of stones extending from the main body of the tomb. For the unconnected structures, small altar-like constructions, steles, and standing stones were added to the tomb's space. Although these structures are not graves themselves, their proximity and link to the tombs mean they are still part of the burial practice and pertinent to their interpretation.

The use of external elements can easily be interpreted as the facilitation of a ritual interaction with the tombs and their occupants. As one would today put flowers on the grave of a deceased, well after their passing and interment, the same appears to be true for the megaliths of the ancient Maghreb. The often-quoted literary evidence for ongoing interaction with these tombs links them with the well-known practice of incubation and dream divination.[522] This practice implies there was an expectation of continuous access to tombs as well as ongoing communication with the deceased, the architectural evidence for which is apparent. This section will briefly outline the various features designed for this interaction while Section C of this chapter will focus on a more in-depth discussion of their ritual uses and social implications.

Arms and antennae

A tomb type that exhibits the most obvious additional elements key to its construction is the antennae or v-shaped tomb (see Table 2). With a date range of mid to late Pastoral period (2nd to 1st millennium BCE) the long life of this tomb type is clear.[523] The orientation of these tombs is evident, with the antennae usually extending to the northeast and southeast forming an acute angle due east.[524] The development of these antennae can perhaps be seen in the later chapel tumuli of the central and western Saharan regions.[525] Here two extensions built into the tumulus appear to mirror the form of the simpler v-shaped tombs of the eastern Maghreb. In each case the actual

[522] Herodotus 4.174; Pomponius Mela 1.46; discussed by Benseddik and Camps (2001).
[523] Dated on finds of iron and lithics, Mattingly and Edwards (2003), 203.
[524] Mattingly and Edwards (2003), 202-203.
[525] Camps (1986), 154.

burial is closed to anyone entering the 'forecourt' which forms a space for ritual interaction.[526] The use of these elements to direct and focus attention is obvious and their directionality fits into the previously-noted North African preference for the east. Adding these elements to a round tumulus only serves to emphasise this practice further. As a structure that is inherently difficult to orientate due to no obviously dominant side and lacking a clear entrance, the deliberate addition of arms to focus the observer on a specific side of a round tomb proves the importance of this direction while maintaining the structural integrity of the tomb.

Altars

The term 'altar' has been used to describe small, stacked structures at the side of the tomb that may indicate the main orientation. One such formation is the late Pastoral 'milking stools' created using four small slabs and placed on the east or west of some tombs. Noted in the Fewet Oasis, and presumably continuing across the Sahara, the positioning of these structures on the east and west sides of tombs denote male and female burials respectively.[527] This preference for 'gendered' orientations could in fact be used to explain the range of orientations across the Maghreb where there is no obvious link to celestial movements or bodies. Altars or offering tables made of stacked sandstone can also be seen in the Royal Tumulus site at In Aghelachem in Fazzan dating to the early centuries CE, emphasising the persistence of this practice in North Africa. These numerous small features show evidence of burning as well as faunal remains indicating some form of offering.[528] The number (over two dozen) and arrangement of these features, in regular rows in front of the larger tombs, suggest either a very large and regimented celebration, or the repetition of a single celebration over multiple

[526] Camps (1986), 163 links these later chapels to the practice of incubation and dream divination. Camps too makes this association with the platforms on top of the bazinas and flat-topped tumuli which he considers suitable for this practice, (1961), 558. This is somewhat doubtful as the flat top appears simply to be structurally required as opposed to ritually necessary.
[527] Liverani et al. (2013), 212.
[528] Di Lernia et al. (2002b), 105 & 113-115.

occasions. The ritual interaction with the tombs either immediately at the burial of after the deceased has already been buried and is no longer physically accessible, promotes the idea of ancestor worship, a practice that was and still is very common across this continent.[529]

Standing stones and steles

Standing stones, stones placed in such a way as to deliberately exploit their vertical prominence, and steles, inscribed or carved standing stones, have been found in various formats throughout the Maghreb. The site of Wadi Ouerk includes a number of tombs utilising standing stones including one placed at presumably the dominant orientation, four on the summit of a tomb marking the burial chamber within, and two large standing stones at Sigus prominently displayed to the east.[530] The same can be seen in the Fewet oasis where standing stones were used to emphasise the orientation and location of the body by placing the stones externally near the internal position of the head, or the general orientation of the tomb by placing them to the west or east of the tumuli.[531] Arguably, the purpose of megalithic tombs is to promote visibility and prominence of the burial in the landscape, therefore adding standing stones, essentially repeating this practice, appears to be somewhat unnecessary. What is interesting is the use of these stones to externally mark the internal position of the burial chamber and body as seen above. While a tomb announces the presence of a burial in general, the standing stone, when used in this way, emphasises the exact location of the body, perhaps even representing the deceased themselves, a concept explored further below.[532] Steles inscribed with Libyc words are also known from

[529] See Kopytoff (1971) on the role of African ancestor worship; see Steadman et al. (1996) on the wider global relevance of ancestors.
[530] Camps (1961), 131, 159 & 174.
[531] Mori et al. (2013), 277-278 & 290-304.
[532] This would place it in line with the Near Eastern *nephesh* tradition, Fattovich (1987), 45.

funerary contexts.[533] According to the Trismegistos database, there are upwards of 160 steles from across the Maghreb which include Libyc inscriptions.[534] The intriguing tomb at Sidi Slimane appears to be associated with a limestone stele standing 30 m from the structure and possibly claimed this unique burial for a father and son.[535] A tradition that fits more into the stele typology is the Garamantes v-shaped 'horn' and four-fingered 'hand' steles at Germa (Fig.3.18). While these are very different from the unworked standing stones found further west, they do follow the similar tradition of being placed on the eastern, and more rarely western, side of the tomb.[536] Remarkably similar steles are also found on the Moroccan Atlantic coast at Doukkala-Abda near the tombs at Safi, but exactly how they were integrated into their setting goes unrecorded (Fig.3.19).[537]

The main difference between the steles and standing stones is the inscription on the former announcing its exact purpose and the absence of any obvious message on the latter. This distinction is also seen in the standing stones or maṣṣebot (sing. maṣṣaba) used in the ancient Near East, where Graesser notes how their "mute" quality resulted in multiple meanings being attributed to a single stone. He offers a number of ways of understanding these eastern 'voiceless' stones, two of which can be applied to the standing stones of the Maghreb; firstly, by placing them in their wider cultural context; and secondly by looking at their immediate archaeological setting. Moving beyond the earliest interpretations of these stones as phallic symbols or representations of a spirit or deity, the maṣṣebot had a variety of functions: memorial, legal (including the sanctifying of transactions and boundary markers), commemorative, and cultic, with

[533] The term Libyc, similar to the French libyque, as opposed to Libyan will be used when referring to the ancient indigenous language.
[534] Depauw (2017).
[535] This double inscription is in itself rare, Ruhlmann (1939), 55-56.
[536] Mattingly (2007), 147-148.
[537] Denis (1967).

these functions often overlapping in a single stone.[538] These standing stones were often associated with tumuli and other ritual areas with the earliest known from Negev dating to the 14th millennium BCE.[539] However, where Graesser's argument differs from this current study is that he believes the maṣṣebot were created to copy and recall steles, therefore making them reliant on the pre-existence of the inscribed stones.[540] This is not necessarily true in North Africa as uninscribed standing stones are found across many parts of this region and from a very early date. A more complete discussion of the role of steles and standing stones will occur in Section C of this chapter with regards to the social and ritual interaction with Maghrebi tombs.

The orientation of tombs in the ancient Maghreb appears to be a very important aspect of their design and interaction. From the orientation of entrances to the addition of antennae, arms, and standing stones, the deliberate emphasis on the focal point of tombs implies the care and attention taken to meet the funerary expectations of the indigenous communities, a practice that persisted across the vast region and through the centuries. The final aspect to approach is the construction of the core tombs themselves. This will not be focusing on detailed typology and intricate differences in tombs but rather the overall socio-cultural implications of megalithic construction in the ancient Maghreb.

3B.1.5. Construction

Once an area was deemed sufficiently sacred to host a tomb, the tomb itself needed to fulfil the criteria of a recognised structure for burial and ritual. According to van Binsbergen, this can be defined as visible, deliberately placed, permanent, and reflecting the religious and ritual expectations of the creating community.[541] This is

[538] Graesser (1972), 35-37; Avner (2001), 1-2. Maṣṣebot were used right through to the Islamic period, Avni (2007), 125.
[539] Avner (2001), 1-2.
[540] Graesser (1972), 35-37.
[541] Van Binsbergen (1981), 101.

supported by Darvill, stating that the structural and physical elements of megalithic tombs are "the grammar controlling engagements that somehow translated beliefs and cosmologies into physical existence", implying a deliberate and established means of articulation through their design and construction.[542] Scholarly focus concerning the funerary traditions of the ancient Maghreb has often been on the supposed foreign inspiration for some of the tomb types. This places a large amount of emphasis on the physical forms of the tombs. However, it is important to note that although material culture is easier to adopt and adapt across cultural boundaries, ritual and religious traditions, which are more unique to a specific community, do not transition as easily.[543] Therefore, while physical forms may become altered through increased contact and exchange, the underlying ritual intentions are more likely to remain the same. This would result in a shared ritual expectation of a satisfactory format of burial being recognisable across the whole region. The evidence for and implications of this ritual continuity in the ancient Maghreb funerary tradition will be discussed further in Section C of this chapter.

As previously discussed, the increase in social stratification in North Africa, both in the 3rd millennium and 4th century BCE, saw the rise in the creation and distribution of megalithic tombs. This link is certainly not unique to the Maghreb and a parallel can be drawn with the same rise in northern Europe and Scandinavia. Here Furholt and Müller too associate the changes in burial practices with the shift in social dynamics. In these northern regions smaller, simpler tombs were used predominantly by relatively independent community units while the later development of larger and more elaborate megalithic tombs, including the famous passage graves, was sparked by the increase in more powerful centralised governance. The prevalence of these tombs was then used to mask this new, heightened socio-political control through the collective nature of the ritual interaction with the tomb and a greater, albeit fabricated, sense of

[542] Darvill (2011), 37.
[543] Beck (1995), 170.

inclusivity.[544] Tombs therefore become socio-political tools through which individuals can express and maintain community links as well as power and control. As a visible mark in the land, these links and associations would last as long as the megalithic structure, creating a durable memory. With this longevity in mind, the construction of the tomb would therefore need to be deliberate and precise in order to convey the necessary messages in an enduring way.

As noted by Robin, the analysis and interpretation of megalithic tombs has often centred on their internal construction and organisation with less attention paid to the external structure. Discussing specifically European tumuli, he argues that the covering structure needs to be considered alongside internal chambers and passageways in order to fully comprehend the complex system created by these elements.[545] The construction and use of megalithic tombs is believed to reflect a physical representation of and entrance into the sacred realm. So by gaining access to the immediate space of these tombs, an individual starts to move beyond the profane and into a space reserved for the spiritual world.[546] The only way to maintain this area as separate to daily life is either to restrict access to a certain group in a community or only allow access at special times or for specific reasons. While the immediate space of a tomb can be accessed at any point, the tomb itself is unlikely to be opened and engaged without a special reason, be it for subsequent inhumations or ritual interaction with those already buried within.

In the physical construction of megalithic Maghrebi tombs, there are five basic shapes: the mound; the more compact tumulus or cairn; the stacked slabs of the dolmen; the increasingly constructed bazina; and the cylindrical choucha. The hanout, essentially in its own category as not strictly megalithic, will be discussed in greater depth with

[544] Furholt and Müller (2011), 19.
[545] Robin (2010), 373-374. Although his work centres on British and Irish tumuli, this approach remains pertinent to the analysis of North African structures.
[546] Scarre (2011), 19.

regards to the question of engagement with foreign influences in Chapter 5. For the current discussion of tomb construction there are two main factors involved, namely the materials used and energy expenditure in sourcing and creating the tombs. This discussion will not be limited to the megalithic tradition of the Maghreb but will also utilise applicable approaches taken with regards to more scientifically studied megalithic tombs from further afield.

Materials

As all megalithic tombs essentially use the same category of raw material in their construction, stone, the variety of tomb typology in the Maghreb can perhaps be explained through an analysis of this factor. The natural break of rock will determine the type of construction that can take place. If a rock breaks into large, regular slabs, dolmenic structures can occur. If this is available in abundance, a full dolmen structure can be built with four walls and a capping slab, creating a lintel feature. If there is a short supply of such materials but they can still be found with some effort, this will lead to fewer components being built in this way resulting in a slab-lined chamber or a few steles.[547] If this type of break is not naturally occurring and would require too much skill or effort to artificially create, these types of structures could be unlikely. This is certainly not to say that one method is more advanced than the other, rather that environmental constraints would be at play. This of course could also be a conscious decision on the part of the community creating the structures as both dolmens and tumuli are in fact found in the same necropoleis.[548] However, an area consisting of geology resulting in regular slabs does not necessarily also produce tumuli as certain areas would not possess enough loose gravel and soil in order to create a significant number of covering mounds.[549] This difference can be seen in the Roknia and Bou

[547] If slabs are in short supply, drystone walls can replace the upright supports, Camps (1961), 117.
[548] See above examples from Henchir el Assel and Djebel Merah.
[549] Camps (1961), 119 suggests that North African dolmens were never covered by tumuli or mounds due to this geological constraint.

Nouara necropoleis. At Roknia the local geology is that of low rocky outcrops which produce craggy, irregular stones when removed from the ground, while at Bou Nouara the limestone breaks into regular slabs.[550] Although the materials at each are very different, both sites show a preference for dolmen construction. The slabs at Bou Nouara prove to be ideal for this tomb type, while the stones at Roknia are perhaps better suited to mounds or tumuli. In fact, at Roknia where some tombs are in a poor state of preservation it is difficult to distinguish them from the natural outcrops. Even though the conditions at Roknia are not perfect for this construction, the dedication to the tomb type remains, showing that the available materials do not have to dictate the format of burial, rather the tomb type takes preference over the ease of construction. A further distinction between these two necropoleis is the size of the stones that needed to be moved. Bou Nouara's dolmens, although in regular slabs, were larger and used more stones, while Roknia's dolmens were smaller but required huge, irregular stones to create the same dolmen effect.

Moving from the practical to the ceremonial, the type of material could also have bearing on the ritual traditions associated with the tombs. As Kinnes notes, the use of durable materials could indicate the intention for a long period of ritual interaction with the burial structure.[551] A further factor to bear in mind is the reuse of materials, with evidence for this occurring at Wadi Tanezzuft.[552] This in itself calls into question the reverence for tombs once a specific tradition is no longer followed. However, the fact that thousands of megalithic tombs have survived to this day implies that enough respect was given in general for this not to have affected the majority of tombs. This working of materials also implies that a certain level of expertise was required in order to construct some of these tombs. However, the nature of megalithic architecture means that the stones used are largely unworked in which Scarre sees a deliberate

[550] Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 10.
[551] Kinnes (1975), 19.
[552] Di Lernia et al. (2002b), 69.

symbolic meaning behind the choice of this material by retaining its near original state.[553] This reverence for nature is certainly an element of ancient Amazigh society as natural features formed part of their ritual interaction.[554] A further factor inherent to megalithic architecture is the size of the stones required. As these are often very large, rough, and require a degree of working to be used, the amount of effort and energy spent on each tomb becomes an important element to their interpretation.

Energy expenditure

As monumentality implies the exaggeration of requirement, the extended process and amount of material needed to create a large tomb certainly holds a significant message.[555] It is an obvious leap to assume that the more energy spent creating a tomb, the higher the status or appreciation of its occupant. Furholt and Müller use the varied examples of the Orkney Islands to suggest between 3000 and 6000 man hours were used to create a single tomb, claiming the process itself added as much prestige as the final product.[556] A further estimate, and one that seems more compatible with the tombs of the Maghreb, is based on Iron Age south Indian megalithic burials. A cairn with a diameter of 13.5 m within a circle of 22 stones is estimated to have taken 70 to 80 adults three to four days to construct. Arjun and Jadhav add that a community of up to 500 individuals would be needed to supply this work force, also implying a high degree of sedentary settlement.[557] This estimate is perhaps closer to the examples in North Africa where the average tumulus stands at around 5 or 6 m in diameter with larger tumuli fitting into the Indian dimensions. The Maghreb tumuli therefore would have taken about half as many builders to construct, requiring a far smaller community base suitable for a semi-sedentary society. A Maghreb tomb could therefore take 30

[553] Scarre (2016), 4.
[554] Fentress (1978), 509-510.
[555] Trigger (1990), 119, 122.
[556] Furholt and Müller (2011), 19. As they do not detail which tombs they are using for their estimates this is a tricky comparison.
[557] Arjun and Jadhav (2014), 424. Liverani et al. (2013), 214, also argue that the increase in necropoleis in the Maghreb is an indication of rising sedentarism.

adults three to four days or 15 adults a couple of weeks to construct. However, construction time would also be dependent on materials. A dolmen made of enormous quarried slabs and a mound made from accumulated soil and smaller stones certainly required different levels of expertise and labour. Stone makes an analysis of the construction of these North African mounds, linking their greater energetics and volumetrics to the status of local elites and the creation of more pronounced hierarchies in the first millennium BCE.[558] He estimates that the smaller tumuli could take less than a week in person-days to construct while the largest of the Maghrebi tumuli would take between 700 and 3300 person-days to build. This depends on the amount of work conducted per day by each individual, including locating, quarrying, and transporting materials.[559] The larger the tombs, the greater the status of the individual as they are able to command the labour required for construction.

Nevertheless, would it be fair to assume that the entire dolmen-creating community attached more prestige to these tombs than a community creating large mounds? To say that the most labour-intensive tombs were limited to the elite is to suggest that at Roknia, Bou Chen, and Bou Nouara thousands of elite individuals were buried. Instead, this may imply that ensuring burial in a certain way was paramount to an individual's cultural identity and therefore could not be limited to a few community members. This is certainly supported by the above discussion of repeated features of external structures, arms, antennae, and steles, and the emphasis on certain orientations found throughout the ancient Maghreb and across the centuries. Of course, there are certain cases where hierarchy can be seen, namely in the case of a few large tombs surrounded by smaller tombs of the same typology.[560] Here the tomb type is shared while the level of effort required is not, which could be due to personal prominence

[558] Stone (2016). Energetics implies the required labour while volumetrics concerns the size of the structure.
[559] For a full list of calculations see Stone (2016), 48-49, table 4.2.
[560] This can be seen in Fazzan where smaller tombs are usually situated near large tombs, Di Lernia et al. (2002a), 58.

and ability instead of enforced restrictions. The argument has been made that these higher energy expenditure tombs are representative of control and power over the community.[561] A more powerful and revered individual could therefore demand labour of a community while the less prominent members would not be able to do so. However, it could also be argued that the community considered it so important to follow the specific requirements of burial that they voluntarily supply the labour to all members. This is reasonable if all community members expect to be buried in the same way therefore guaranteeing a tomb will be built for them in the future due to their own labour efforts in the present. An important point raised by Trigger is the emphasis of some cultures on the monumentality of tombs, while other aspects of architecture, including domestic and administrative, remain far less prominent.[562] This is certainly true for the inhabitants of the ancient Maghreb where prior to the 4th century BCE there is little evidence for permanent structures beyond burials, perhaps elevating the position of death and burial in Amazigh culture above that of societies where monumentality is shared by all architectural projects.

While it could be argued that the semi-nomadic nature of a large part of the local population would prohibit long-term projects such as monumental architecture, periods of short-term sedentary practices would allow for such projects. See for instance the above discussion of the nomadic megalithic necropolis at Lake Turkana.[563] As discussed in Section A of this chapter, episodes of gathering were needed to maintain the nomadic aspects of these communities' through trade and political transactions at periodic markets that would not else occur. These gatherings therefore would provide the necessary period of pause as well as labour required to create megalithic tombs. While the smaller tombs would take only a few days to build, larger tombs may in fact be the work of a number of such periods, with each gathering adding

[561] Trigger (1990), 122.
[562] Trigger (1990), 121.
[563] See 3A.1.3; Hildebrand et al. (2011); Hildebrand and Grillo (2012).

to the tomb construction. The implication that bodies would be stored and transported to these gatherings before burial will be discussed further in the following section on ritual engagement.

An important factor that also needs to be taken into consideration is the time it would take to quarry and transport the materials if these are in fact not conveniently located. Kalb suggests that the distance itself over which megalithic materials need to be transported may even form part of the intention of these structures.[564] The transportation of megaliths has been heavily debated, with arguments for and against the deliberate movement of large stones.[565] An aspect for determining the effort put into these tombs may also include the sourcing of the building materials where colour, texture, and shape can play a role in the choice of stones used in their construction.[566] While this level of analysis is generally lacking in the study of North African tombs, there may be a few examples that can be interpreted along these lines. The Bronze Age necropolis at El Mries on the Moroccan Atlantic coast has 21 slab-lined tombs on two levels of a hill. Interestingly, the stones used in their construction, one slab of which is 1.7 m long and weighs 1200 kg, were quarried from a sandstone massif at Hadjerin, 1 km away.[567] The size and weight of just one of these many slabs is indicative of the determination not only to build these tombs in this specific place but to use materials that are not conveniently located. This could equally speak to the reverence held for the quarry site. As seen in autochthonous cultures in Australia and Papua New Guinea, certain quarries are viewed as sacred and must be approached accordingly.[568] Whether this is the case for the Hadjerin quarry is uncertain, but the sacred nature of particular natural features is perhaps seen in other parts of the Maghreb.

[564] This is in specific reference to megaliths in Vale de Rodrigo, southern Portugal, Kalb (1996), 683.
[565] Thorpe and Williams-Thorpe (1991) argue against long-distance transportation, while others including Patten (1992) and Kalb (1996) offer alternative views.
[566] Darvill (2011), 39; see also Bradley (2000), 26-31 for a comparable analysis of the Clava Cairns in Scotland.
[567] See Jodin (1964), specifically 30, 38.
[568] Scarre (2016), 4.

Approximately 4 km to the east of the Es Soumaa tower tomb lies a quarry. While modern mining is evident on this hill, this may be the source of the tower's own stone. Similarly, the quarry for Kbor er Roumia is also said to lie along the coast below this monument's hill.[569] The Chemtou quarry also offers an interesting example. As mining at this site progressed, reliefs of deities, horsemen, and other presumably ritualistic motifs were carved directly into the quarry walls (Fig.3.20).[570] The use of the quarried marble in the creation of the Chemtou monument on top of this hill may also have imbued it with this revered quality; a sacred structure created from a sacred feature. While the details of indigenous North African religion remain uncertain, some elements are known, including the reverence of natural features such as mountains and water sources, as well as the use of caves for the worship of certain deities.[571] This ritual association with natural features can perhaps be seen at the Fewet Oasis where a sandstone outcrop is directly incorporated into the construction of a stone circle from the middle Pastoral period to which three tumuli were later added.[572] Here, instead of avoiding the rock, this sacred space was enhanced by the natural protrusion and was undoubtedly deliberately chosen for these qualities, while the later inclusion of three burials further emphasises this location as significant. This certainly supports Scarre's argument above that the natural qualities of stone were deliberately retained in megalithic construction. This also reinforces the premise that these natural features formed part of the construction process and were not simply means to an end. This factor, combined with the apparent orientation of certain tombs towards significant natural features, strengthens the link between funerary architecture and the landscape. By creating tombs that mimic and interact with their surroundings, the ancient Imazighen, a society so dependent on a harsh environment for survival, inextricably bound themselves to this land in death. As shown throughout this section,

[569] As informed by local guide, Ahcicene Segouini (2017), pers. com.
[570] Kraus (1993), 71-91, see also tables 64-85.
[571] Fentress (1978), 509-510.
[572] Mori et al. (2013), 273-274.

this repeated reverence and adherence to specific traits and traditions in funerary construction is evident across the tomb types and throughout the centuries of megalithic development into more monumental architecture of the Hellenistic period. In order to comprehend fully the sacro-social role of tombs in the ancient Maghreb, it is now necessary to analyse the ritual nature of funerary architecture and burial practices. By looking beyond the *how* of these tombs and closer at the *why*, it will be possible to gain a deeper understanding of the communities that created them and how their funerary practices were changed or maintained over the centuries.

Section C: Ritual engagement and the Maghreb tombs

Up to this point, this chapter has focussed on the physical aspects of the funerary traditions in the ancient Maghreb through the location, placement, and structural appearance of these tombs. This current section will now analyse these physical aspects with regards to the human experience of engagement through ritualised acts. It is this underlying ritual engagement that offers the most evidence for the continuation of indigenous traditions from the earliest forms of burials into the Hellenistic period. As outlined in Sections A and B of this chapter, a number of structural elements and embellishments could be incorporated into the exterior of the megalithic tombs to create or encourage engagement with the structures. Although these could take various forms, the fact remains that they all served the same function; focussing attention on a specific side of the tomb and designating this side as the primary approach by way of standing stones and steles or forecourt-like annexes. When walking up to a tomb, the immediate vicinity may create a path of approach, through either the natural setting or an artificial construction. A tomb without any evidence for a dominant side could therefore be approached from any angle, such as mounds and tumuli where there is a uniform external facade. While custom and tradition may once have dictated a 'correct' angle of approach at these tombs, this has left no obvious

archaeological evidence. However, if a tomb includes a structural signpost indicating the primary approach, this necessitates a preconceived deliberate engagement with the structure. While steles or standing stones may specify which side is the most important, movement towards the tomb is still relatively free without much guidance. Arms and antennae, however, draw individuals in, narrowing to a point of entry or primary focus, creating a forecourt. It is within this space that ritual interaction could occur.

Although these features are not found at every tomb, and could therefore be seen as optional and non-essential, they are not the only means of drawing attention to a tomb, as seen in Section B. While the general orientation of a structure can easily be established using these external additions, elements more integral to the construction of the tombs, which also have orienting functions, are the passageways and approaches. These include the immediate vicinity of the tombs, their facades, and the internal corridors and *dromoi* leading to the burial chambers themselves. Certain tombs lend themselves more to this style of construction and interaction, while other tomb types have more of an obscured and abstract articulation of these features. Working through the proposed chronological development of the tomb types in the ancient Maghreb, there is a clear progression from purely functional graves to more elaborate constructions, including structural features designed to accommodate interaction and engagement with the tombs. This is not to say that the earlier tombs that do not display obvious features meant for this purpose did not include this level of engagement, rather that this earlier interaction may not have required permanent structures to accommodate it.[573] Section C will now take the initial discussions of Sections A and B beyond the physical construction of the tombs and engage more with what can be interpreted as their ritual interactions and social implications.

[573] This is similar to the Neolithic Clyde Cairns in Scotland which developed large forecourts for more overt ritual engagement, Noble (2006), 105-111.

The importance of ritual in the ancient Maghreb

Building on Camps and Gsells' comments that the monumental Hellenistic period structures are African at their core with veneers of foreign influence, Quinn notes briefly the references to pre-existing traditions including spaces for dream divination and the use of ochre.[574] However, this discussion is brief and focusses primarily on the monumental tumuli with no analysis of the deeper meaning and implications of these ancient practices. Furthermore, Quinn's argument, building on those of Rakob and Coarelli and Thébert on the use of Hellenistic 'coding', centres more on the socio-political motivations behind the design and construction of the Hellenistic period tombs.[575] The socio-political dynamics projected through funerary practices is certainly an important element of burial articulation and this angle of analysis in mortuary practices developed under scholars such as Binford, Rothschild, and Tainter.[576] However, Carr argues that this narrowing focus came at the expense of the perceived role played by philosophical-religious beliefs and shared worldview in the way societies buried their dead. He rightly claims that these factors are as important in the motivation behind the funerary practices in communities as the social and political climate.[577] The following discussion will build further on these arguments, namely those of Quinn and Carr, exploring these links more thoroughly and expanding the discussion to include the tower tombs and peak monuments and their underlying sacro-social origins. Through this analysis of ritual engagement in the ancient Maghreb, it will be possible to gain a deeper understanding of the roots of these Hellenistic period monuments and what this may tell us about the culture(s) that created them.

Rituals and ritualistic behaviour essentially separate the exceptional from the quotidian, and if this were too similar to everyday practices, the significance of the act

[574] Camps (1961), 571; Gsell (1929), 262, 283; Quinn (2013), 204-211.
[575] Rakob (1983); Coarelli and Thébert (1988); Quinn (2013). See Chapter 2 for an overview of these arguments.
[576] Binford (1971); Tainter (1978); Rothschild (1979).
[577] Carr (1995).

would be lost.[578] Therefore, an established symbolic language was required in order to comprehensively convey these complex meanings. The concept of ritual and what this constitutes in ancient societies is a complex subject. A number of scholars have attempted to define ritual, highlighting the predominant features of repetition, symbolism, and formalised structure with non-technical and intangible effects.[579] Brück has also convincingly challenged the long-held perceptions of ritual being irrational and completely separated from and having little consequence for daily life. As acts which can be viewed as ritual, be that spells, offerings, or certain performances, are conducted in order to guarantee outcomes which affect the daily, lived experience, the lines between sacred and profane become blurred if at all substantiated.[580] Therefore, ritual should not be viewed as superficial or inconsequential to daily life, but rather as complimentary and inextricable, as the results of a correctly performed ritual have very real psychological consequences for those performing it, including the belief in fertility, productivity, or good fortune. As noted by Gluckman, tribal societies are dependent on ritualized interactions in order to maintain dynamic relationships within the communities following the correct and expected etiquette.[581] As the communities of the ancient Maghreb were reliant on the limited resources of a harsh environment, maintaining the status quo of a well-functioning community was important for the mutual benefit of all within it. Therefore, the correct adherence to ritualized acts would not be limited to the esoteric well-being of these communities but also to their physical welfare.

As seen in the sections above, tombs were widespread, visible features in the daily lives of the ancient Maghreb communities. Using them not only as resting places for the dead, but also landmarks for travel and points of congregation for trade, the functions

[578] Carr (1995), 111.
[579] See for example Firth (1951), 222; Radcliffe-Brown (1952), 143; Nadel (1954), 99; Leach (1964), 607; Richards and Thomas (1984), 191; Brück (1999), 314-315.
[580] Brück (1999), especially 316, 319-322, 326.
[581] Gluckman (1962), 26-27.

of tombs were both within the traditionally defined spheres of sacred and profane, with division between the two overlapping and blurred. For the purpose of this current study, ritual will be viewed as acts of direct engagement between the living and the dead, such as visitations to, offerings at, and interactions with the tomb itself in order to gain communion with or favour from the interred. This section will look at the structural aspects required for this ritual engagement as well as the physical performance within these spaces. Although Brück argues that it is futile to search for evidence of ritual in archaeology, this pertains more to the ambiguity of objects that can be used in both a domestic and sacred setting, such as pottery and implements found in uncertain contexts.[582] As pertains to this current study, tombs do not have this inherent ambiguity as their primary function, burial, is clear, therefore seeking evidence of ritual elements in their design and construction is less problematic. Case studies will be used to illustrate the theoretical approaches that have come to develop the field of mortuary archaeology in order to show their application to the funerary architecture of the ancient Maghreb. These approaches include experiential data such as sense archaeology, an angle of analysis that has not before been fully applied to the funerary archaeology of this region. This discussion will be divided into two aspects: approaching the tomb, through which the ritualised physical form of these structures will be analysed; and entering the tomb, allowing for a closer look at the engagement of the living with the world of the dead through ritual acts.

3C.1. Approaching the tomb

The following discussion will centre on the ways in which ritual can be identified and analysed in the archaeological record, specifically with regards to structural elements. This will firstly require a framework which can be used to identify ritual, before turning to the technical aspects of ritual acts and how these influence the development of structural features.

[582] Brück (1999), 326-327. See also Arponen and Ribeiro (2014), 162.

3C.1.1. Recognising ritual

As seen in the introduction to this chapter, the funerary architecture of the ancient Maghreb takes on a variety of forms and typologies. However, shared structural elements are present in the different categories of the megalithic tombs (see Table 2). Mounds and tumuli, although varying in size and material, follow the same format of burial as a grave covered by fill. Dolmens too, although constructed from differing materials, such as Roknia's rough boulder-like rock and Bou Nouara's more regular slabs, still follow the same basic lintel construction across this tomb typology.[583] Bazinas show an increase in architectural awareness and follow a similar format distinguishing them from tumuli, while chouchet increase this distinction further still through their unique cylindrical form. In addition, across these categories there is an emphasis on circular shapes, even in the case of those tombs that do not naturally lend themselves to this shape. Dolmens for instance are inherently quadrilateral, but stone circles and circular retaining walls are frequent inclusions in their construction (Fig.3.12). As these features are not always structurally necessary, the inclusion of these stone circles clearly represents an abstract as opposed to practical addition, which is recurrent in other megalithic tomb types in the Maghreb. At Bou Nouara for instance, the importance of the stone circle around the tomb is emphasised by the construction of this circle even before the covering slab was placed on some of the dolmens, with this slab resting not only on the orthostats of the tombs themselves but also on some of the encircling stones (Fig.3.21).[584] This implies that the stone circle was constructed prior to the completion of the dolmen itself, as if this element needed to be created before the location was deemed adequately prepared for the tomb and, therefore, the burial, imbuing the stone circle with a ritualised quality. In other cases, this surrounding circle could have been of a much larger circumference and so avoided

[583] See discussion of construction and materials in Section B of this chapter.

[584] This can be seen for instance at Dolmens XV and XVIII, Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 33, 35. Circular shapes have long been linked to ritualised, non-domestic architecture, see for example Bradley (2000), (2012); Romankiewicz (2018).

incorporation into the dolmen itself, for instance Dolmens III and X, as opposed to being constructed after the capping slap was placed.[585] While these stone circles appear to perform no immediate function, their inclusion was clearly important. This early, deliberate creation of a specifically designed space in which a tomb could be constructed, speaks to the regulated and recognised format within which burial could occur in the ancient Maghreb.

In order for something to be recognised as ritual, it needs to satisfy certain shared expectations. As Bell notes, formalism limits the degree to which personal and idiosyncratic influences can be placed on ritual behaviour so as to maintain the articulation of an act as specific and satisfactory to an enactor and audience. This avoids misinterpretation by restricting variation within the recognised format of expression which in turn meets the expectations of a community. This also makes the ritual process easier, negating the need to develop a unique way of promoting something as special and non-quotidian by providing a suitable and accepted form of communication. If an act or articulation does not retain this formalised expression it runs the risk of being obscured through variation and ultimately being rejected, therefore failing in its intention to mark something as befitting of a special occasion or individual.[586] As mentioned above, the ceremonial aspects of interactions in smaller and at times vulnerable communities guarantees the correct functioning of important social institutions, including leadership roles, property rights, and productivity.[587] This formalism is somewhat balanced by traditionalism, which focusses more on the pre-existing custom itself as opposed to the format in which it is articulated. Therefore, variation can occur without losing significance, with importance instead placed on the antiquity and authenticity of the element of the ritual. By referring back to an older convention, the enactor imbues the ritual with a sense of prestige, placing the

[585] Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 17, Fig.6, 27, Fig.17.
[586] Bell (1997), 139-144; Richards and Thomas (1984), 191. See the examples in the introduction of this thesis with regards to the consequences of modern burials not meeting certain social expectations.
[587] Gluckman (1962), 26-27, 33.

articulation within a long tradition. However, as long as the core concept is retained, a degree of variation can occur, which sets traditionalism apart from formalism.[588]

Although often viewed as unique and a new development in North African funerary architecture, the Hellenistic period monuments are equally formalised, recalling pre-existing traditions. Even though they were constructed to entomb exceptional individuals, in order for an ancient audience to recognise and positively receive these structures as funerary, they still needed to satisfy the pre-existing expectation of what a tomb was and was not. The Medracen and Kbor er Roumia are both famously described as "indigenous monuments in a foreign coat", and continue the established format of the indigenous tomb type.[589] This statement is only valid due to the formalism expressed in these two structures. Even their monumentality is not completely unexpected with the contemporary if not older bazinas of Souk el Gour and Djebel Meimel each reaching 40 m and 70 m in diameter respectively. Similarly, the ambulatory construction of the passageways is also found at the latter bazina and a second large tumulus near the Medracen.[590] The orientation of the entrances and external structures of the Hellenistic tombs also fits the predominant trend with the emphasis on easterly and westerly orientations (Table 5).[591]

This trend of dominant orientations is also seen in the external structural additions at many pre-existing megalithic tombs from the arms and antennae to the small altar-like structures found at tumuli, bazinas, and dolmens.[592] While it may seem that the orientation of tombs, as discussed in Section B, appear somewhat arbitrary with multiple orientations being used simultaneously across the Maghreb, this too may be a

[588] Bell (1997), 145-150.
[589] Gsell (1929b), 262, translated from the French.
[590] For Souk el Gour see Camps (1960b), 47-92; Jodin (1967), 221-261. For Djebel Meimel and the tumulus near the Medracen see Camps (1961), 194-195.
[591] This is particularly evident with the Medracen and Kbor er Roumia's external ritual platforms, see Chapter 2.
[592] See the tumulus at Foum el Rjam, Camps (1961), 187; the antenna tomb at Tin Abunda, Mattingly and Edwards (2003), 202; altar-like spaces also evident in Wadi Tanezzuft, see Di Lernia et al. (2002a), especially 28, Fig.4.1a. 3a, 4 II.

deliberate choice indicating a specific worldview or information about the interred. While formalism may call for the adherence to a specific orientation in tomb construction, traditionalism makes allowance for variation within this recognised spectrum without sacrificing the recognition and acceptance of the ritual intention of these tombs. In Inuit communities for instance, the varying orientations indicates specific ritual beliefs such as cardinal points representing different afterlife destinations, while emphasis placed on the east and west of a tomb has been linked to male and female burials respectively in the Fewet Oasis of western Libya.[593] The only tomb that appears as an outlier to the established emphasis on the east and west seen in the vast majority of Maghreb tombs is the Dougga tower tomb with its chamber entrances orientated to the north, a largely avoided direction. There are two possible reasons for this orientation. The first is that the position of the tower on a hillside means that the approaching attendants would be moving south and therefore downhill which may have eased the transportation of a body for burial, as illustrated in the schematic in Fig.3.22. The second option could be that this tomb, although linked to an elite individual, Atban, is not associated with a royal burial. Therefore, this tower would only need to suit the tastes of this individual and his family and not necessarily those of the entire community. This is further emphasised by the tower's location at the opposite end of the city from the megalithic tombs to the north. However, the fact remains that the tower itself is located on a south-facing slope which still places it squarely in the path of the sun, a significant feature in the traditions of the Maghreb and the likely direction faced by those visiting the tomb.

While at first glance the Dougga structure may seem unique, the tower tombs in general too follow particular trends that place them within indigenous funerary traditions, as will be shown below. Here again, traditionalism has allowed for this variation in the tomb, while retaining those features that identify it as an accepted

[593] Merbs (1989) as discussed in Carr (1995), 118-119. On the Fewet Oasis see Liverani et al. (2013), 212, and the discussion in Section B of this current chapter.

tomb through formalism. It is indeed this formalism that guided the modern reconstructions of the tower tombs, including placing a pyramid on top of Es Soumaa.[594] Although these tombs have been linked to the Punic tradition and therefore have been rooted in this origin, if their construction were regarded as too exotic for the local population they would not have satisfied the cultural expectation and failed in their intention as suitable memorials. The towers of Dougga, Es Soumaa, Beni Rhenane, Henchir Bourgou, and Sabratha B can in fact be linked to a well-established Maghrebi as well as wider Saharan tradition, namely the standing stone and stele. This offers an interesting analysis and example of how ever-evolving ritualised elements can be traced through the development of funerary practices and architecture in the ancient Maghreb.

From standing stone to tower tomb

Beyond the obvious link to its vertical emphasis, standing stones and steles are far more culturally significant than simply eye-catching. As previously discussed in Section B of this chapter, these were variously used to mark the sites of graves, the position of bodies, and the location of necropoleis. The use of standing stones and steles is well documented in the ancient Near East and Egypt and it is with this tradition that the tower tombs are frequently compared and linked.[595] However, these funerary structures are equally prevalent in the Sahara, and indeed across the northern half of Africa. The association of standing stones and burials is well attested at Wadi Tafiret, Adrar Sirret, Hoggar, Tassili n'Ajjer, and Bouar regions ranging from a few megaliths to hundreds of stones and dating to the late Pastoral period.[596] The use of erect, elongated stones, therefore, is not a foreign concept but appears to be as inherent in

[594] See Lancel (1997), 316.
[595] See Avni (2007), Avner (2001), Graesser (1972), Prados Martinez (2008), Quinn (2013).
[596] For the Saharan sites see Fattovich (1987), 60; for the Bouar region see David (1982), specifically page 69 for the dating of Tazuna BeTemu and BaLimbe II to 900 BCE.

North African funerary practices as the mound and tumulus tradition, occurring across a vast area but exhibiting similar ritual inferences and interpretations.

An interesting and comparative case study of an African stele tradition that has too been linked to Near Eastern origins is the use of steles in the Axumite Kingdom of East Africa (c. 100 CE). Detailing the earlier and well-established traditions found across most parts of northern and central Africa including Egypt, Nubia, Sudan, and the Central African Republic (CAR), Fattovich offers a strong argument for the ancient African origins of these Ethiopian steles.[597] Steles from the protodynastic period in Egypt name buried kings and elites, while Nubian stones dating between 3000 and 1500 BCE are all found in funerary contexts.[598] Thirty-five standing stones were used to mark the area of sixteen burials associated with the Gash Group (3^{rd} – 2^{nd} millennium BCE) in the Kassala region of Sudan, while in Bouar in western CAR, hundreds of tumuli incorporating multiple standing stones in their construction, locally termed *tazunu*, offer an interesting parallel. Although evidence for actual burial is uncertain, these *tazunu* have been associated with funerary practices more generally as symbols of elite individuals in the Late Stone Age communities that erected these memorials.[599] Here the standing stones, grouped in large numbers in a single structure, could be a representation of a deceased in the absence of a body, akin to the modern use of a cenotaph. By tracing this wide-spread use of this ancient standing-stone tradition, Fattovich concludes that the later development of the Axumite stele tradition is in fact not dependent on the Near Eastern practice but is rooted rather in this pre-existing African custom.

Consequently, Fattovich's argument can easily be adapted to the Hellenistic period tower tombs. As the Maghrebi monuments have been subjected to the same

[597] Fattovich (1987). For the megalithic tradition of CAR see David (1982).
[598] Smith (1966), Fattovich (1987), 51-52.
[599] Fattovich (1987), 54. C14 dating places the construction of the tumuli at about 900 BCE, David (1982), 43-45, 69, 75.

diffusionist hypothesis for their origins as the Axumite stones, placing all inspiration in the Mediterranean and the Levant, Fattovich's approach can be expanded to include this Amazigh tradition.[600] This tower tomb topology instead becomes an extension of a longstanding and deeply rooted African practice, rendering the need to find Eastern or Mediterranean origins for the Maghreb tower tombs needless. Ancient lines of contact between these various regions of the northern half of the continent would have facilitated this cultural exchange and the spread of this tradition. As shown in the reconstructed trans-Saharan route, there was a documented passage from the Libyan coast to Ghana, with the likely existence of numerous others from the east and west feeding in as tributaries.[601] As the use of tumulus and cairn burials spread across northern Africa, developing from the cattle cult tradition, so too could the standing stone and stele tradition move and develop as more cultures came in contact with each other during the Pastoral period.[602]

Is it this established standing stone tradition that made what first appears to be a foreign and eastern inspired Hellenistic period tower tomb acceptable to an indigenous population? Although these tower tombs engage with the motifs of various cultures and civilizations, they retain a strong link to the established African traditions. The main characteristics shared by the standing stone and stele tradition in northern and central Africa is the emphasis on visibility as warranted by the vertical placement of the stones, association with a deceased, be it a burial or memorial, and further to this, a frequent link to more than one deceased. The great height of the tower tombs is certainly a clear indication that they were meant to be highly visible. This is also emphasised by the placement of some of the towers, as the Beni Rhanane, Es Soumaa, and Dougga tombs stand on elevated ground with commanding views and visibility at a distance (Fig.3.23).

[600] Prados Matínez (2008), 139-174, treats these tower tombs as stemming from the Punic funerary tradition, while Camps (1961) does not even include them in his thorough catalogue of indigenous North African tombs.
[601] Liverani (2000); Houar (2017). See Section A of this Chapter.
[602] See the introduction of this chapter for the discussion of the development of the tumulus tradition in northern Africa; Di Lernia (2006), 52-54 & 59-61; Di Lernia and Manzi (2002b), 4-5.

These three towers have also been linked to more than one burial. Beni Rhenane includes ten subterranean chambers, Dougga incorporates three chambers, and Es Soumaa contains up to seven possible cremation burials.[603] This is perhaps where a divergence in the later tower tomb tradition can be seen. The two tombs that may have closer associations with non-indigenous influences, although still showing general links to the African tradition, are Henchir Bourgou and Sabratha B. There are two elements that may separate these two towers from the corpus of Maghrebi monuments; their design and location.

As Henchir Bougrou is in poor condition, the analysis of its design is based on reconstructions. As seen in Section A of Chapter 2, this tower follows a different trend to those preceding it with a more Classical articulation. With its full pillars, proposed statue, and *dromos* entrance, this tower is somewhat different to the Es Soumaa, Beni Rhenane, and Dougga towers. Similarly, Sabratha B shows a complete shift away from the more austere designs with its highly baroque decoration and, more significantly, the lack of any associated burial. Both of these tower tombs appear to satisfy a different tradition to those located further to the west. This geographic element is too perhaps a factor for their interpretation. Situated in the east on Djerba Island and at the coastal city of Sabratha respectively, Henchir Bourgou and Sabratha B show a marked shift from the three in the west, and they appear to be more closely linked to the Near Eastern tradition. They are also not associated with an indigenous centre of power nor an elite Numidian burial, as Djerba is traditionally linked to Punic power, while Sabratha too was developed by Phoenician settlers.[604] Sabratha B in fact does not contain a burial, with no evidence that one was ever intended. As previously discussed, this tower is the most distinct of all the tower tombs showing a far greater degree of adherence to a foreign tradition. The location of these two towers in traditionally Punic settlements implies that they too may follow a formalised pattern but this time it

[603] See Chapter 2 Section A.
[604] Fentress et al. (2009); Kenrick (1986), 312.

satisfies a Punic audience. These two North African towers may therefore be more closely associated with the Near Eastern tradition of maṣṣebot discussed in Section B of this chapter. Although clearly ritually significant, these Near Eastern standing stones did not necessarily have to be related to burials and served more as memorials. This use is more suited to that of Sabratha B where there is no clear link to a burial and it most likely served as a commemoration as opposed to a grave marker. As there is no accompanying inscription, unlike the Dougga tower, there is no way of knowing who exactly this was meant to memorialize and could therefore represent multiple individuals or a family. However, as seen above, there are still ancient African examples that too are used more as commemorations than true burials, for instance the *tazunu*, which again shows the complex, multi-layered cultural engagement within the funerary traditions of the Maghreb.

Although a formalised approach is certainly seen in the overall design of the burial structures in the Maghreb, variation is still evident. It is arguably this variation that has caused the debate surrounding the Hellenistic period tombs. However, since these later structures follow the established articulation of the ancient megalithic tradition in a general sense, variation can occur without their underlying symbolism and meaning becoming too obscured. As Kbor er Roumia makes reference to the Medracen to instil the authority of the preceding kings, so too would the Medracen have brought to mind the pre-existing megalithic tradition of the tumuli and bazinas throughout the region. As Parker Pearson notes, funerary practices are essentially political statements through which the living use the dead to achieve a specific aim, be it spiritual or social, by exploiting their relationship with the deceased and the community.[605] This quality of maintaining a link to the ancient practices would develop along with the structural aspects of a tradition as seen above in the ancient roots of the tower tombs. However, the construction of tombs is only half of the intention of the structure with the other

[605] Parker Pearson (1993), 203.

half being the sometimes-intangible ritual engagement. By turning to the human engagement with tombs, it will be possible to see the underlying ritual acts that too informed the later development of the funerary tradition in the ancient Maghreb.

3C.1.2. Regulating ritual acts

Connected to this ritualised construction and the structural expectation of funerary monuments, the ritualised acts required to satisfy not only local tastes but also the spiritual world would need to be performed following strict regulations. Although structural elements are still pertinent to the practice of certain rituals through the creation of spaces for this purpose, this section will focus more on the role of the living in the performance of and engagement with ritualised acts. Going hand-in-hand with formalism, invariance dictates the exact physical repetition of an act or articulation leaving no room for personal or unique expression. This maintains the sufficiency and 'completeness' of a ritual so that there can be no misunderstanding as to its function and intention. While invariance may appear to be the same as formalism, the latter determines the guiding framework of the articulation, and the former specifies the precise and repetitive performance within this framework. This offers a degree of comfort within the ritual, since by following a strict script of behaviour, the enactor rests assured that their articulation would satisfy an audience, be it a spectator, an ancestor, or a deity, which will lead to a favourable outcome.[606] This is very similar to rule-governance, which limits the performance of certain social interactions, creating anticipated outcomes. There are only a finite number of ways in which these rituals can be performed and completed, fitting the expectations of a society, which is also true for other ritual acts. While the rules can be diverse, it is still possible to see an articulation as ritual-like as it follows a specific permitted pattern of performance which in turn restricts the possible outcomes.[607] These limitations placed on activities are an

[606] Bell (1997), 150-153; Fortes (1962), 83, 86.
[607] Forde (1962), 122-123; Bell (1997), 153-155.

important element of any act if it is to be accepted by a community as befitting a specific activity. As death in a small community is highly disruptive, funerary rituals are important for maintaining socio-political contracts after the loss of a prominent figure as this may include the transfer of status and goods to a surviving individual.[608] Rituals in funerary traditions can therefore take place in two broad scenarios: at the initial burial itself, and through continued engagement with the interred and the tomb. The following discussion will analyse the most prominent ritual behaviour associated with the funerary traditions of the ancient Maghreb. This will start with the practice of dream divination and its implications for ancestor worship before turning to the ritualised use of tomb distribution and arrangement in necropoleis.

Dream divination

A form of ritual engagement that is frequently mentioned and was commonly practiced among the ancient Imazighen was that of incubation or dream divination. In order to commune with the ancestors, one would sleep in the tomb of a deceased and take council from any dreams that came from this.[609] The importance of this practice is emphasised by Herodotus' claim that the Atlantes, one of the many tribes he describes, did not dream at all, after having explained the practice of incubation just before this statement.[610] This suggests that as this tribe may have followed a different practice of ancestor worship, and as Herodotus uses this trait to in fact define the Atlantes community, dream divination is a more widespread practice than not and was an important element of indigenous traditions. Therefore, for a community not to dream at all came as surprise to the ancient author. While this practice has come down to us through ancient texts, archaeological links have also been made as annex chambers and designated spaces attached to tombs have been interpreted as places to facilitate this. This includes the annexes of chapel tumuli while the additional structures at the

[608] Gluckman (1962), 50-51; Forde (1962), 89-90.
[609] Herodotus 4.172; Pomponius Mela 1.46; Benseddik and Camps (2001).
[610] Herodotus 4. 184.

Medracen and Kbor er Roumia could also be linked to this practice.[611] In order for this ritual engagement to have any effect, the community would need to believe in the lasting legacy and supernatural power of those interred, namely ancestors.

Ancestor worship

Ancestor worship can be expressed in terms of degrees ranging from appropriate respect to cultic veneration. However, it in itself is not a religion, but an element of a society's belief system.[612] Without further written evidence, it is difficult to ascertain if ancestors in the Maghreb were considered divine, but the way in which they were believed to intervene through the requests of the living, as seen in incubation, implies they had at least a semblance of supernatural power and control. An inscription dedicating a temple to Massinissa in Dougga in 139 BCE and a second honouring Micipsa in Cherchell, suggest just such a divine connection and a ruler cult.[613] However, Camps notes that this status was only applied to the rulers after their death, while full deification is unproven.[614] There is also the possibility for varying levels of ancestors within the same community, including the degree to which they are commemorated. Fortes notes how in the Ghanaian Tallensi culture the social hierarchy is mirrored in their ancestor worship which is practiced through degrees of inclusivity in the lineage.[615] This is similar to the social structure of the ancient Maghreb where communities identified on multiple levels from close familial ties to larger regional links.[616] As with the Tallensi, this same hierarchy can perhaps be seen in the Amazigh ancestor worship. A ruler cult in essence is the highest degree of ancestor worship. If the creation of sacred spaces through the addition of annexes, arms, antennae, and altars is in fact indicative of the practice of incubation and other forms of ritual

[611] Rakob (1983), 330; See Camps (1986) for chapel tumuli.
[612] Insoll (2011), 1043-1044.
[613] Rives (2001), 429; Camps (1960), 217; Février (1951); Brett and Fentress (1997), 34-36, note how Massinissa, Micipsa, and Juba were referred to in divine terms.
[614] Camps (1960a), 293-295.
[615] Fortes (1983), 11.
[616] See Section A of this chapter.

interaction, and not all tombs include these structural elements, this implies that not all tombs and their occupants were the focus of such engagement and therefore did not hold this degree of power. As Whitley cautions, not all those who died were considered powerful ancestors and modern scholars must be careful of over-ascribing this level of reverence to every ancient burial.[617] Quinn considers the later Maghrebi development of elite individual commemoration in isolated tombs a step away from African traditions and shows a closer link to incoming practices and changing social conditions in the later 1st millennium BCE.[618] However, as seen in preceding North African contexts, it was a widely accepted process for the individual to be held in greater esteem than the community in a selective manner.[619] The commemoration of the individual is neither a foreign nor new development in this region, and this had been occurring in African contexts for many centuries and fed into the long-established tradition in the Maghreb. These Hellenistic period monuments may have been erected as singular structures but that does not mean they commemorated singular interments as evidenced by multiple inhumations and ossuaries.[620] The multiple burial chambers of the Dougga and Beni Rhenane tower tombs also support this in the later periods, not limiting these structures to single honoured occupants. This turns the discussion to the deliberate distribution and arrangement of tombs within necropoleis, as this too speaks to the more ritualised aspects of decision-making among the living community.

Necropoleis

This deliberate selectivity is most obvious in cases where, within the same necropolis, some tombs appear to hold a deeper significance than others. As noted in the Wadi

[617] Whitley (2002), 122.
[618] Quinn (2003), 20.
[619] See the development of necropoleis in the introduction to this chapter, Liverani et al. (2013), 213-214; Mattingly and Edwards (2003), 217-218.
[620] Tombs of this nature can be found at Bou Nouara and Tiddis among others, Joussaume (1988), 232-233, discussing Camps; Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 45.

Tanezzuft region, smaller tombs usually cluster around larger tombs.[621] At the Bou Nouara necropolis, the oldest tombs are located at the summit of Djebel Mazela, with successive dolmens and bazinas constructed around them and down the slopes.[622] The map in Fig.3.24 shows how these tombs are arranged in lines, which may in fact indicate the succession of burials from summit to foot on the eastern slope. The fragmented nature of these rows may also indicate community or familial divisions, in essence creating necropoleis within a necropolis. Is it possible to identify individual, emphasised ancestral lines through the arrangement of these dolmens, with each line suggesting a sub-community or tribal grouping within a wider social context? This certainly fits Camps and Camps-Fabrer's claim that this necropolis sat at an important regional crossroad, both physically and socially.[623] It also suits the socio-political dynamics of fragmented association as previously discussed.[624] This practice of grouping tombs is not limited to the pre-existing megalithic era but also persisted into the Hellenistic period. To the east of the Medracen there are dozens of smaller tombs in close proximity to the monumental bazina and, although in a state of poor preservation, they appear to have been tumuli of about 1 m in diameter (Fig.2.4), while more tombs are scattered throughout the valley (Fig.3.25). Beni Rhenane too is surrounded by a necropolis of small tumuli made of local travertine, while the site of the later Djedar tombs at Tarnaten too hosted a number of smaller tombs.[625] The burials at Beni Rhenane also occur in a ring of hypogea below the structure, arranged in a similarly grouped way. As is probably the case for the Wadi Tannezzuft, Bou Nouara, and other megalithic necropoleis featuring similar groupings, by clustering in this manner the occupants of these smaller tombs were presumably trying to express their connection to the occupants of the larger tombs. This relationship could either be

[621] Di Lernia et al. (2002a), 37, 58.
[622] Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 88.
[623] Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 8, 87.
[624] See Chapter 1 and Chapter 3 Section A for a more complete discussion of this.
[625] Vuillemot (1964), 72; Rakob (1979), 150, (1983), 334; Camps (1961), 560.

direct, through familial connections, or aspirational, linking themselves after death to prominent individuals. Considering the social structure and the ritual engagement with ancestors already attested to, it is unsurprising that some tombs and their occupants were considered to hold greater significance than others.[626] It is this link that is exploited through ritual engagement such as incubation and offerings at an altar.

3C.2. Entering the tomb

This turns the discussion to the contents of the tombs themselves and the focus of these rituals. Nilsson Stutz applies the framework of *anthropologie de terrain* to the analysis of graves. This method looks at the burial process holistically, setting the stages of human intervention, such as constructing the tombs and manipulating the corpse, apart from those that are biological, namely decomposition and erosion. While it could be argued that ritual performance relies on consistency to maintain meaning, this framework suggests that it should be determined whether the variation is intentional or unintentional and analysed accordingly. Intentional variation could be used to differentiate individuals within a strict, uniform articulation, becoming a useful tool for expressing the significance of this individual.[627] This of course is inherently difficult as it requires one to recognize intent in the archaeological record, a seemingly impossible task in a society which produces few to no written records. There is little major variation in the megalithic tombs of the ancient Maghreb, with the different styles of burial retaining general similarities over a vast area and they all exhibit the fundamental elements required to be categorized on a basic level. Where intentional variation does become evident is the Hellenistic period's addition of Mediterranean and Greco-Roman motifs. However, the inclusion of these foreign elements is still

[626] Camps (1961), 560. The ongoing interaction with many of these sites can also be seen in the way they are adapted to the changing religion of the region with the addition of marabouts and shrines in places such as Souk el Gour and possibly at Roknia. The four modern structures at this latter site may be dedications to *walis*, local holy men, as proposed by local guide, Rafik Cheraitia, pers. com. October 2017.
[627] Nilsson Stutz (2009), 659-660.

within the traditional framework and guidelines of acceptable funerary articulation recognised in the ancient Maghreb. Nevertheless, as Nilsson Stutz states above, this intentional variation serves to emphasise the importance of the occupants of these tombs, as even today they easily stand out from the pre-existing megalithic tradition as much as the elite occupants were set apart from the ordinary citizens and their own burials. This deliberate prominence is certainly evident in the earlier megalithic tradition. In Wadi Tanezzuft, the larger in size a tomb was, the more likely it was to remain isolated.[628] This particular trait can explain the relatively isolated location of the monumental Hellenistic period tombs. As these tombs and by extension the interred were meant to be distinct from all those in the community, setting them apart both in structure and physical location, would emphasise this importance. The Dougga tower for instance standing on the southern edge of the city while the megalithic necropolis lies on the northern side, may be a deliberate attempt to differentiate the occupants of this monumental tomb from those in the smaller megalithic burials, not only through its unique construction but also its physical location. These subtle yet effective means of communication are only successful if they are comprehended through a shared symbolic format. This can take place in a more subtle form of tacit communication as well as the more physical performance of rites and rituals.

3C.2.1. Symbolic communication

This level of communication, as previously stated, needs to occur in an unspoken and, more often than not, unwritten form. Due to the low presence of inscriptions, the burden of a meaningful message falls to the structure and its location and contents. As Conneller notes, the process of death is transformative, signalling the end of one entity, the living, and the generation of another, the dead, which transcends the lived experience of the community and becomes part of the sacred realm. It is with this realm and this new identity that the living now need to communicate, which can only

[628] Di Lernia et al. (2002a), 42.

be done through ritualistic and symbolic means.[629] Every community has certain culturally significant sacred symbols associated with their belief systems; be it a ritual act, an object, a structure, or an individual. Once something is consecrated through ritual or tradition it becomes a symbol to this community and is used to evoke an emotional response, either through contact or proximity through ritual interaction such as rite or pilgrimage.[630] Ortner describes two categories of key symbols, summarizing and elaborating. Summarizing symbols are those that succinctly and completely represent the belief system of a community. By using a set number of symbols, core concepts and principles can be articulated and communicated as well as elicit an emotional reaction. While on the surface the symbols may seem obscure, they are used to summarize a set of beliefs, such as the Christian cross or the Hindi Aum, simplifying the communication of complex ideas. Conversely, elaborating symbols, while not the primary symbols of a set of beliefs, are used allegorically to explain philosophies and "sort out experiences" associated with those beliefs, such as myths or metaphors used to express fundamental values or principles.[631] The god Helios' chariot ride across the sky to explain the movement of the sun in Greek myth, for instance, would fall into this category. Symbolism can therefore encompass very complex communication through relatively simple means. With regards to funerary archaeology, grave goods and what they potentially symbolise have often been used to identify the occupant of a burial. However, the high degree of disturbance and secondary burials means grave goods are infrequent and poor in Maghrebi sites so these are not necessarily reliable indicators. However, there is a recurring practice of a particular ritualistic inclusion in certain burials; the symbolic use of ceramic vessels and stones. For this discussion the vast necropolis at Bou Nouara will be used as a case study as this is one of the more well-recorded sites.

[629] Conneller (2013), 352.
[630] Bell (1997), 155-159.
[631] Ortner (1973) 1339-1341.

Situated on Djebel Mazela about 10 km south east of El Khroub and the Es Soumaa tomb in eastern Algeria, the necropolis once boasted more than 4000 dolmens and bazinas covering an area of 400 ha, of which about a tenth survive, and only a fraction of these have been excavated.[632] The ongoing sacred nature of this 5th to 4th century BCE site is evident with the inclusion of later Christian burials at the centre of the ancient necropolis.[633] The grave goods that have remained in the excavated dolmens and bazinas are very poor and insufficient to conduct a thorough analysis. However, a frequent characteristic is the placement of certain vessels and stones within the dolmens. In Dolmens IV and VIII for instance, simple ceramic bowl-like vessels were found at the centre of the burial pit with their mouths tipped towards the west and east respectively. A similar practice involving small vertically placed stones is seen in Dolmens XV and XVIII.[634] The deliberate placement of these objects within graves that possess very few grave goods, and at times even human remains through inhumation, emphasises their importance. According to Camps and Camps-Fabrer the tipping of the vessel mimics pouring and, therefore, a libation, echoing the use of the vessel in the world of the living.[635] A further interpretation could be that the vessel, at this haphazard and abandoned angle, ceases to be useful to daily life, in the same way that the deceased no longer physically interacts with the living. This is supported by the deliberate and symbolic breaking of vessels prior to burial, rendering them equally useless.[636] A further use of vessels can be seen in the bazinas at Tiddis where the bones of previous burials were collected in pots and reburied, making space for subsequent inhumations, and turning the tombs into ossuaries.[637] Similar examples in the Fewet Oasis include pottery fragments scattered during the construction of the tumuli, while

[632] Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 7-8.
[633] The addition of Christian burials can also be seen at pre-existing megalithic necropoleis at Mechrasfa and Ksar Mahidjiba, Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 10, 85.
[634] Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 19, 23, 32, 35.
[635] Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 80.
[636] Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 81.
[637] Joussaume (1988), 232-233, discussing Camps.

there is evidence of oil lamps placed on top of the tombs.[638] This indicates that the ritual interaction was not limited to the laying of the body but also the construction of the tombs with the symbolic inclusion of the pot fragments. This is very similar to the ancient nomadic communities in Chad, where if a skull went missing during the natural excarnation process, it was substituted by a ceramic vessel, into which the skull would normally have been placed.[639] This use of an inanimate object as representative of the body, or part thereof, a summarizing symbol, could very well be the intention of the African standing stones, including in the ancient Maghreb. While some tombs as noted above in the Fewet Oasis used standing stones on specific sides of the structures to denote the location and gender of the interred, a similar practice may be evidenced in other parts of North Africa.

At Bou Nouara five large stones were aligned on the summit of a bazina which contained five separate burials (Fig.3.26). According to Camps and Camps-Fabrer, this is an indication of later robbery with clear disturbance of the grave evident and the stones apparently filling the holes.[640] However, this disturbance could be due to subsequent inhumations within the same tomb, with the stones added sequentially to indicate the number of bodies within. Anyone approaching the bazina would automatically know that five burials have occurred within the same tomb as indicated by the five stones on top. This practice also appears evident at Djebel Gorra where three small standing stones are located on three sides of a dolmen, with a fourth perhaps having fallen over at some point on the missing side with a number of potential stones lying here (Fig.3.27). This could therefore indicate the number of successive burials, either three or four, within the dolmen. A comparable practice can be seen at the Fewet Oasis where deliberately broken vessel shards were placed on the western end of a cairn tomb, indicating the position of the interred body, while a whole

[638] These burials date from the Pastoral to the proto-historic period, Mori et al. (2013), 253, 257-258.
[639] Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 79.
[640] Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 45.

vessel was placed on the tumulus of an adult female burial.[641] These seemingly small and subtle acts therefore take on a deeply significant ritualised meaning through the deliberate engagement of the living with the dead. It is this element of deliberate actions that offers an insight into the most archaeologically obscure aspect of ritual, namely performance.

3C.2.2. Performance of ritual

The performance of a ritual can occur on different sensory levels: visual, aural, tactile, olfactory, and even gustatory. The framework or format within which this occurs is what sets the ritual apart from the profane and draws attention to a significant site or activity. By incorporating this element of the senses into the ritual articulation, the experience is heightened, which brings a deeper level of grandeur and authority to the act.[642] This is the most difficult angle from which to analyse the tombs of the Maghreb as knowledge of the exact nature of the performed rituals can only be known through the archaeology. At this point it is useful to turn to sense archaeology for an appropriate approach, a method not yet fully explored in the funerary archaeology of the Maghreb.[643] While this may offer possibilities, the outcome of this type of analysis has to remain hypothetical as it is impossible to verify and only suggestions can be made as to what actually occurred. Certain elements of basic engagement though can be ascertained. Darkness, silence, echoes, rough stone, and firelight would have been part of the sensory experience of anyone entering and placing a body or cremation urn within a tomb. Three elements of performance that can be explored through the archaeological remains of the megalithic tombs of the Maghreb are the use of ochre, excarnation, and altars, all requiring intimate, physical engagement of the living with the deceased.

[641] Mori et al. (2013), 259, 274.
[642] Bell (1997), 159-164; Hamilakis (2013), 4-7.
[643] This approach is used in the study of the ancient enigmatic Maltese and Sardinian structures (Skeates 2010, 2016) as well as those on Crete (Hamilakis 2013).

Ochre

The use of ochre in funerary contexts is well documented in many cultures around the world and over millennia.[644] The ritual use of ochre became particularly prominent in North Africa from 6000 BCE and there are numerous examples of this in the ancient Maghreb.[645] In the Garamantian Fewet Oasis graves, there is evidence for ochre-stained bones and the remains of red coloured leather shrouds for both male and female burials.[646] The use of ochre colouring was a fundamental inclusion in both Amazigh and Punic contexts with examples of images depicted using this mineral and 'redding', deliberate coating with ochre, found in a number of rock-cut tombs. Sites include El Guetma, El Harouri, Sidi Mosbah, around Mahdia, and Sidi Mahmed Latrech. The megalithic 3rd-2nd century BCE necropolis at Thiggiba Bure (modern Djebba) also includes fragments of ochre in tombs 2, 7, and 8, and evidence of ochre staining on skeletal remains is seen in tombs at Maktar and Gigthis.[647] While there is no single symbolic meaning for the use of ochre in burials, its resemblance to the colour of blood links it to life, death, and procreation.[648] The use of ochre in the Maghreb clearly places the burial practices in a very well-established tradition and symbolic experience. The decorating of the tombs and coating of the deceased formed an important part of the ritual performance in the preparation of the burial and body, transitioning the stone structure and corpse from the profane into the sacred. This interaction with not only the body but also the tomb itself shows that it is this integrated unit that holds significance in the belief system of the ancient Maghreb.

[644] Evidence for the symbolic use of ochre can be seen in contexts dating to 300 000 BCE, before even the evolution of *Homo sapiens*, with a widespread distribution across Europe, the Levant, and southern Africa, see Marshack (1981); Hovers et al. (2003); while specifically African symbolic use of ochre among *Homo sapiens* dates to the Middle Stone Age, Hovers et al. (2003), 509.
[645] Wreschner et al. (1980), 633; Haverkort and Lubell (1999), 162-163.
[646] Mori et al. (2013), 257, 270, 281-286, 296-297.
[647] Longerstay (1986), 341; Ghaki (1987), 234, (1997), 71; Fantar (1988), 29-31; Ben Younes-Krandel (1988), 21-22, (1992-1993), 184, 189; Ben Tahar (2004), 53;
[648] Hovers et al. (2003), 509-511; Wreschner et al. (1980), 632-633.

The use of ochre in a funerary context persisted for many centuries, with the internal walls of the Medracen and the chapel tumuli at Besseriani and Fedj el Koucha in the Negrine region of eastern Algeria all plastered with a sand and red ochre mixture, while ochre lines are used to decorate the walls of another tumulus at Djorf Torba.[649] The red walls coupled with lamps and flickering flames must have created an important immersive experience for any attendant, elevating the ritual's emotional interaction. The persistence and widespread nature of this practice even led Jodin to conclude that the Souk el Gour tomb may also have been plastered with ochre to fit into this well-established tradition.[650] This decoration of tombs also included images of various scenes and motifs painted inside haouanet such as hunting, combat, daily life, and animals. While some of these are autochthonous in design, others are considered foreign imports of Greek, Punic, and Egyptian origin.[651] However, while the specific images themselves may be influenced by later cultural adaptations, the act of decorating the tombs and engaging with the structure through ochre is certainly not a new concept to this region, implying that although new forms of expression became available, these were still articulated through a well-used and ancient method.

Excarnation

A further performative interaction with the deceased is the practice of excarnation or defleshing of the corpse, the likely reason for disarticulated and scattered remains in some tombs.[652] The North African practice of defleshing the body, as evidenced by cut-marks on the bones, dates as far back as to the 7th millennium BCE and the Capsian tribes in the Constantine region of Algeria.[653] However, this was not a universal

[649] Camps (1986), 157.
[650] Jodin (1967), 251.
[651] Ghaki (1999), 167.
[652] This is a frequent form of inhumation found in the megalithic tombs of the ancient Maghreb, Camps (1961), 481-482.
[653] Haverkort and Lubell (1999).

practice, with complete, articulated bodies deposited as well.[654] The need to disarticulate and at times deflesh a corpse is not necessarily linked to any particular ritual but may instead be due to practical requirements. As Haverkort and Lubell argue, the nomadic Capsian communities of the Maghreb appear to have manually defleshed their deceased so as to ease transportation of the remains to a desired location for burial when death occurred away from this site. Once here, the remains were then buried in a ritual manner with the use of ochre.[655] This implies not only the need for a specific place to bury the dead, but also that the bones themselves held deeper significance than the fleshed and articulated body in its entirety. The proper treatment of the body prior to burial forms an important part of the living's physical interaction with the deceased and by following specific established performance norms it offers closure in an emotionally turbulent time.[656] Indeed, the ochre staining of the fleshless bones may in fact be an attempt to 'reanimate' the body with symbolic lifeblood before the deceased is permanently interred. This would transform it from inanimate corpse to personalised deceased, reengaging it with the living so that final rites could occur. This practice, coupled with the deposition of ochre and 'redding' of tombs as discussed above, would have created a unique and visceral sensorial experience for those taking part in this process. The cutting to deflesh and disarticulate and the application of ochre to the remains and tomb would have been an intimate, hands-on experience, impacting on multiple senses at once.

Bazina XXII excavated at Bou Nouara also gives evidence for this secondary burial practice where the disarticulated skeletal remains of five deceased were interred in phases. The placement of the bodies suggests the earliest occupants were in crouching positions while the later additions were defleshed and disarticulated before the tomb

[654] This too is frequent and widespread with evidence across the whole of the Maghreb and in a diverse range of tombs, see the table in Camps (1964), 470.
[655] Haverkort and Lubell (1999), 161-163.
[656] Nilsson Stutz (2009), 658.

was reopened and the remains deposited.[657] Strabo too offers insight into the burial practices of the Troglodytes, where the body was bound into a tightly constricted bundle prior to burial under a cairn.[658] Examples of likely binding of the body in leather shrouds can be seen in two burials at the Fewet Oasis, as well as at Wadi Tanezzuft with signs of unnaturally constricted limbs due to possible ligatures.[659] This practice though is very ancient in northern Africa with examples of tight binding found in the Gobero region of central Niger dating to between 7700 and 6200 BCE.[660] Through these various interventions with the remains of the deceased, it appears that emphasis was given to the placement of the body within the tomb. By keeping the body wrapped, restricted, and at times stripped to the bones, transport of the remains was made easier. This certainly falls in line with Haverkort and Lubell's above argument for the importance of specific locations for burial rites, much like the modern use of family graveyards and mausolea. Although the original burials in the Bou Nouara bazina were as complete bodies, the deliberate secondary burials of the later disarticulated remains suggests there was a keen desire to have these later bodies placed within this specific tomb even though it required far more post-mortem interaction in order to have this realised. The combination of whole and defleshed bodies in the same tomb may indicate that some of the deceased died closer to this necropolis requiring less travel while others needed to be reduced for a longer period of transportation. This movement away from a desired burial site certainly suits the pastoral communities that would have used this necropolis which still remained important to their funerary traditions. As Camps and Camps-Fabrer note, the Bou Nouara necropolis sits at a confluence of movement in the region, and that the presence of ovine bones in the burials implies that those engaged in these rituals would have been non-elite nomadic

[657] Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 41-45.
[658] Strabo, *Geog*. 16. 4.17.
[659] For Fewet see Mori et al. (2013), 262-265; for Wadi Tanezzuft see Di Lernia et al. (2002) 85, 95, 154.
[660] Sereno et al. (2008), 2.

pastoralists.[661] This feature of their society would have meant seasonal movement to and from suitable grazing lands and away from this centralised sacred location at Djebel Mazela and the significant communal burial ground. This relates back to the importance of landscape and setting as it pertains to tomb architecture and location. All of these factors and characteristics of the funerary traditions of the ancient Maghreb overlap to create complex and multi-layered mortuary practices from the simplest cairn burial to more monumental structures.

Coupled with the idea that symbolic replacements such as stones and vessels can be used, the emphasis appears to be placed on the more abstract concept of the deceased and not the physical presence of the body in its entirety. This can be extended to include the cremated remains of the Hellenistic period. According to Gsell, cremation was a foreign adaptation, imported only later to the region and used less frequently.[662] The two burials at Es Soumaa were cremations, and this method is also assumed at both the Medracen and Kbor er Roumia where vessels may have held the remains in the niches in the walls of the burial chambers.[663] While this appears to diverge from the pre-existing skeletal burials, it still maintains the practice of reducing the body of the deceased to a manageable form. As previously discussed in Section B, small altars with evidence for fire were located at tombs such as the Royal Tumulus at In Aghelachem. Could the ritual spaces and platforms located outside the Medracen and Kbor er Roumia too have been the site of ritual burning, this time not for an offering but rather the cremation of the deceased? Considering the relatively isolated location of the Medracen, the deceased would certainly have to have been transported from their royal centre to this tomb, and cremation may in fact have taken place off-site and closer to the location of the death. The platforms then could have been used to perform any final rites, such as when bones were prepared with ochre before

[661] Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 87.
[662] Gsell (1929), 240.
[663] Rakob (1983), 335-336; Bonnell (1916), 168-169; Bouchenaki (1979), 20; see Chapter 2 for the discussion of the other Hellenistic period tombs.

interment. Camps in fact raises the question of location with regards to the final resting place of Micipsa. As an inscription referring to the funerary sanctuary of this king was found at Cherchell, Camps queries whether this may indicate the location of Micipsa's death, while no evidence for a tomb survives in a city not necessarily under Micipsa's control.[664] The tower tomb of Es Soumaa, however, has been linked to the burial of Micipsa, 400 km away from Cherchell, and near to this king's capital at Cirta.[665] If it is in fact the case that this Cherchell inscription marks the place of Micipsa's death, his remains, perhaps already cremated, would have had to have been transported the 400 km to his tomb near Cirta. This recalls the established indigenous tradition of importance of place and movement of remains to a chosen location which held significance for the deceased and their community, in this case on a prominent hill near the royal capital.

These practices – excarnation, binding, and cremation – seem not only to be driven by the need to transport the body of the deceased but also to make them fit the diminutive dimensions of the burial chambers where they would then be deposited. An average dolmen at Roknia and Djebel Gorra, for instance, is only about a meter high, with the chamber within considerably smaller. The tombs of Bou Nouara too have small chambers of less than a square meter.[666] While this could be due to the materials used to create these tombs as the builders would be limited by the size of the slabs and stones available, where different methods and materials have been employed and the size of the tomb is greatly increased, the chambers themselves are not necessarily any larger. This is seen with the chapel tumuli located across the Maghreb where the external structure can reach great dimensions while the burial chamber within remains very small (Fig.3.28). This persisted through to the Hellenistic period and is best exemplified by the Medracen and Kbor er Roumia. While these tombs have volumes of

[664] Camps (1960a), 237.
[665] See the discussion in Chapter 2.
[666] Dolmen XIII 1 m x 50 cm, Dolmen XIV 1 m x 55 cm, Dolmen 90 cm x 50 cm, Bazina XXIII 93 cm x 1.3 m, Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 31-33.

24 500 m^3 and 61 338 m^3 respectively, their chambers are only a fraction of this size with cramped approaches, even though the builders were clearly equipped with the skills to produce much more elaborate rooms within the monumental structures.[667] While the observer would be impressed by the initial size and grandeur of the tomb structure – and the significance of the occupant would have been sufficiently conveyed by this – the smaller burial chamber clearly places emphasis not so much on the individual but recalls rather the diminutive sizes of the widespread megalithic tombs, once again linking to these pre-existing practices. Ross, in fact, claims the Kbor Klib monument cannot be a royal tomb as the chambers are too small, and therefore unfit for an elite burial.[668] However, as shown, these reduced dimensions are well suited to the pre-existing and indeed contemporary tradition of interring an individual in a relatively confined space, regardless of social standing. This element of their personality is instead expressed through the size of the tomb in its entirety, its location, and its proximity to other tombs. In this regard, Kbor Klib, placed in a prominent, isolated position on a hill, grandly decorated with striking motifs, and its orientation emphasising both east and west, fits the long-established traditions associated with the indigenous funerary practices. A further element associated with this structure that too points to practices of continued interaction, is an altar located on the western side.

Altars

As briefly outlined in Section B, altars could be present at tombs and offer the clearest evidence for the performance of graveside rituals. Whether these rites occurred regularly or only at the interment itself is impossible to tell, but they certainly prove at least one ritual act was performed. As already discussed, the symbolic breaking of pottery vessels accompanied the burial of a deceased, while the altar indicates the presence of offerings. The nature of these offerings may be indicated by the variety of

[667] The Medracen chamber measures 3.3 m x 1.5 m, while Kbor er Roumia's burial chamber measures 42 m^3.
[668] Ross (2005), 39.

animal bones discovered in the tombs, including sheep, cattle, rabbits, deer, tortoises, and horses.[669] However, Camps notes that their inclusion in some tombs could be accidental and the bones may have entered along with the fill.[670] Even if this were the case, for the bones to have been this close to the grave that they ended up being incorporated into the construction, implies that there may have been an occasion of a ritual meal prior to the closing of the tomb as the bones noted are mostly of animals that would have been eaten.

While the megalithic tombs appear to share this common tradition of ritual offering, the Hellenistic period monuments also continue this practice. The platforms at the Medracen and Kbor er Roumia show clear evidence of external ritual engagement with the tombs. As these are major, permanent constructions, it is not unreasonable to assume that these interactions were ongoing, fitting these practices into what appears to be a general trend of ancestor veneration as discussed above. Beyond these platforms though, the Medracen offers evidence for a less monumental ritual act. Four small pits appear to have been dug at the eastern end of this tomb and the location of the platform (Fig.3.29). While three of these seem to be rather randomly placed, one is positioned right at the east false door which may follow the above tradition of ritual engagement. However, further excavation revealed no results and their function remains speculative.[671] Their location at the eastern side, directly in front of the entrance strongly suggests a ritualistic role such as offerings or even small burials, associating the deceased with the prominent monumental burial.

Poinssot also notes the presence of an altar at the Dougga tower tomb, and while the exact location of this altar is unclear, the inclusion of this too fits this structure into the long-held African tradition. Poinssot draws a parallel between the Dougga altar and the

[669] Animal bones have been found in tombs right across the Maghreb, Camps (1961), 507-514.
[670] Here Camps makes specific reference to tombs at Dalaâ, Rivet, Ain Sefra, El Gour, and Oudja, (1961), 510-511.
[671] Brunon (1874), 322.

Punic graffiti at Djebel Mlezza, but the tradition could just as easily be African in origin.[672] While remains of altars are lacking at the other tower tombs, this is not to say that ritual activities did not occur here. This element of ritual focus also seems to be evident in other formats including the orientation of tombs towards each other. At Roknia, a cluster of three tombs all face each other instead of a single, dominant orientation and may have created a shared ritual space between them (Fig.3.30). This physical articulation of what seems to have been an ongoing reverence and interaction with the deceased goes beyond the realm of the living and appears to have continued even after death. Physical interaction with the tombs and their interred would have kept the deceased relevant to the daily lives of the communities that survived them, once again emphasising the importance of ongoing engagement rooted in the funerary tradition.

3C.3. Socio-ritual continuity

As shown in this chapter, analysing the Maghrebi tombs beyond their architectural elements leads to a deeper understanding of their social and ritual functions. While the tomb itself served the purpose of burial for the deceased, the external structures were primarily aimed at the living and their engagement with the gravesite, be it carrying the deceased up to and into the tomb, performing any last rites, or returning to the site for periodic interactions, each with their own set of ritualised rules and sensory impact. Camps notes four general functions of these ritual acts: council about the future, protection, sanctification, and social cohesion, all of which play important roles in society and are represented by the necropoleis.[673] With regards to the Hellenistic period monuments and the arguments made in favour of heavy foreign influence, this hypothesis loses strength when less emphasis is placed purely on the external construction of these tombs. While discussion of this active engagement with incoming

[672] Poinssot (1983), 59.
[673] Camps (1961), 557; see also Parker Pearson (1993), 203.

foreign motifs and new forms of articulation is important for their wider interpretation, this should not be where analysis ends. Described as unique, completely new, and breaking from tradition, the Hellenistic period monuments have often been excluded from the broader Amazigh context, greatly affecting their interpretation. While Camps made an attempt to reconcile the Medracen and Kbor er Roumia with this indigenous context, this was limited and overlooked the tower tombs. By focussing instead on the social and ritual role played by these structures, they appear to have a much stronger link to the pre-existing traditions prevalent not only in the Maghreb but a wider northern African context. While the external structure may change and evolve with the contemporary socio-political conditions, as well as the expertise of the builders, the use of and interaction with these tombs retains the well-established traditions of indigenous belief systems based broadly on ancestor worship and the veneration of nature. From their location in places of prominence and importance, general preference for traditional orientations, diminutive burial chambers, ritual articulation, and socio-political engagement as discussed in this chapter, these structures are deeply rooted in indigenous socio-political and funerary practices. While the careful construction of the tomb may guarantee its physical longevity, the ritual interaction prolongs its social significance and relevance, from the earliest form of human burial to well into the Hellenistic period. There is very little evidence for a break from the ancient, well-established funerary traditions of not only the Maghreb but deeper into the Sahara and northern Africa as well.

Looking beyond the physical structures of the Hellenistic period tombs and at the ritual and social elements associated with them, there is a clear link to the past. These tombs, although appearing to make reference to foreign powers and cultures, still maintain a strong link to the pre-existing funerary traditions, remaining recognisable and satisfactory to the local population, a vital element in their symbolic communication. What this chapter has set out to achieve is to show this continuation through the

multifaceted context of interaction between the indigenous communities, their land, and their tombs, from the earliest form of human burial to the Hellenistic period monuments and beyond. However, focusing solely on the Maghreb's southern prolongation does the disservice of ignoring its coastal location, falling into the same problem this current study is attempting to avoid. For all of its African location and connection, the Maghreb remains equally a Mediterranean region. As arguments have been made for the heavy influence of the ancient Mediterranean cultures on not only the Hellenistic period structures but also the pre-existing megalithic tombs, it is important to determine to what extent there are similarities between these Mediterranean and North African funerary traditions and to what degree these are viably connected. Regions that have received the most comparisons with the funerary tradition of the ancient Maghreb are Iberia, the Balearics, Sardinia, Malta, and Sicily. In order to understand the evidence upon which these arguments are based it is necessary to give a brief introduction to the megalithic funerary traditions of the pertinent Mediterranean regions to identity their principle characteristics before turning to the underlying factors at work. However, before this can occur it is first important to understand the wider framework within which this contact and exchange happened. Here the theoretical approach of globalization will be applied to the development of increased connectivity in both the Mediterranean and Africa resulting in a more globally aware Maghreb.

Chapter 4: The Global Maghreb

Scholarly interest in the ancient Maghreb has often centred on the perceived similarity of North African funerary practices and material culture to those found in the Mediterranean, whether in the Neolithic, Classical, or Hellenistic periods. However, this leaves one with the impression that indigenous North Africans have been studied *because* of these similarities, somewhat undermining their agency as an independent culture. This is mostly due to the underlying theoretical approaches that have in the past been applied to the study of indigenous societies interacting with Rome, namely Romanization, fusion, and nativism, which have placed an imbalance of emphasis on the cultures under consideration.[674] While it is simple to state that blending, mixing, or appropriation took place, the underlying process responsible for these apparent outcomes needs to be established in order to fully comprehend the local conditions and the consequences of contact and exchange. This is of course not only relevant for the indigenous communities but also those that originated from beyond this region.

This chapter will briefly analyse the common approaches taken in scholarship in an attempt to understand this cultural contact. Discussion will then turn to a theoretical approach that has not yet been applied to the ancient Maghreb, and one that can offer answers to a number of lingering questions, namely globalization theory. By analysing the trends and characteristics of this process, it will be possible to see how it applied in ancient North Africa, not only during the later first millennium BCE, but earlier still. As globalization results from increased contact and exchange with other cultures, this discussion will first analyse wider African contact, building on the evidence of Chapter 3, before turning to examples of Mediterranean contact. This will include a brief summary of the most pertinent examples of megalithic funerary archaeology in order to highlight the aspects most often linked to the development of funerary practices in

[674] See Webster (2001), 211-217 for a good overview of the attempts and failings of these theoretical approaches. See also Barrett (1997); Versluys (2014); van Dommelen (2017), 620.

the ancient Maghreb. Through this discussion it will be possible to see the underlying processes at play in North Africa and how these came to affect the development of funerary archaeology, from the earliest phases of megalithic burial through to the Hellenistic period.

4.i. Theoretical approaches thus far

A problematic early approach to the study of the ancient Maghreb followed a diffusionist hypothesis, where cultural traits are thought to spread from a single source as opposed to the result of independent inspiration and development.[675] This theory claimed that the funerary structures built in the ancient Maghreb originated in the Mediterranean and were introduced by communities migrating to North Africa. Some followers of this diffusionist approach even claimed Celtic, Gallic, or Armorican roots for the Imazighen themselves.[676] These traditional views arguably resulted from the fact that scholars working on Maghreb archaeology brought with them an established knowledge of European remains, which in turn heavily influenced and informed their interpretation of the North African structures. This leads to the two main implications of diffusionism: (1) that innovation and original creation occur in specific centres and are subsequently disseminated to outlying areas, and (2) that these centres are by definition culturally superior.[677] This automatically generates the assumption that indigenous innovation is not present and therefore requires no analysis. The problem remains that, since the Imazighen did not record their own history, interpretation is reliant on non-indigenous ancient texts and enigmatic archaeological remains. A number of theoretical approaches can be used to overcome not only this imbalanced perception but also the lack of certain material evidence.

One such method that is often employed to analyse pre-literate cultures and their material remains is that of middle-range theory. A middle-range approach allows one

[675] Merriam-Webster (website).
[676] Féraud (1846); Camps (1961), 15-16, summarizes these early ideas.
[677] Blaut (1987), 30.

to analyse a culture by using essentially highly informed assumptions based on the results of comparable case studies to give one a relatively reliable 'yard stick' against which to make educated judgements. This approach has developed beyond a single theoretical methodology and any theory can be used in a middle-ranging way. Therefore, this is a framework within which theories can be applied rather than a specific model.[678] This method, developed by Binford and Sabloff, is used to overcome the absence of a complete cultural record, such as explanatory texts, and instead relies on "independent instruments of measurement" which can be used to predict the relationship between material culture and human behaviour.[679] A number of studies have successfully applied this method to the archaeological record. Varien and Ortman, for instance, take a middle-range approach to accumulations research in 9th century CE Colorado where Pueblo culture cooking sherds were used to calculate duration, population size, and the accumulation of artefacts to determine variables.[680] Saitta applies this method to radical archaeology in order to recognise ambiguity and variation in the archaeological record which can then be used for new areas of study and analysis.[681] Through this approach, one is able to make an informed assumption about ancient material remains through comparisons with better-understood cultures and practices.[682] While this approach has its merits and can inform us about past behaviours, there are some limitations to it. Generalisations that are too broad or too culturally disconnected lead to misinterpretations of the remains, basing them on conditions that were not necessarily shared by the cultures in question. However, as Trigger notes, culturally specific middle-rage theorizing that takes into consideration each unique context can be employed with a greater degree of success, though caution is still required.[683] As can be seen in the previous chapter, this middle-ranging approach

[678] Kosso (1991), 622-623; Raab and Goodyear (1984), 255.
[679] Hodder and Hutson (2003), 14-17; Binford and Sabloff (1982).
[680] Varien and Ortman (2005).
[681] Saitta (1992).
[682] Trigger (1995) 450.
[683] Trigger (1995), 456. See Kardulias and Hall (2008), 573, on the value of generalisations.

has allowed for a deeper understanding of certain obscure processes in the funerary practices of the ancient Maghreb, including the socio-political functioning of these tombs in economic contexts and territoriality with parallels made with modern Maghrebi communities.[684] However, a middle-range approach should not be used in isolation; it is instead a complimentary methodology which allows for comparative insight as opposed to complete insight. While the modern parallels mentioned above offer helpful comparative insight, ancient evidence is still needed to provide a balance and to maintain applicability. If generalisations are too broad or incompatible, the argument will be undermined and weakened.

An implicit middle-range approach is also what led to the association of the Maghreb's Hellenistic period tombs with other Mediterranean cultures and origins. By analysing eastern Mediterranean interactions with the Greco-Roman world, scholars came to the conclusion that the same practices are evident in the Maghreb. This can be seen in the numerous comparisons with eastern tombs as discussed in Chapter 2 of this current study. Quinn, for instance, uses the elite and political motivations for the Pozo Moro and Nemrud Dagh structures in comparison with the Hellenistic period monuments.[685] This is achieved through a middle-range approach, where the paralleled societies of the Near East and North Africa are viewed as similar enough to generate the same results when faced with equivalent external influences. While this analysis certainly has merit, it can be problematic on a number of levels. Firstly, the degree of comparability between North Africa, Iberia, and the Near East may be too limited. This also undermines any agency and essentially consigns cultural tradition as involuntary and predictable. Secondly, this does not take into consideration to a satisfactory degree the cultural context within which these structures were created. Thirdly, as the Near Eastern tombs have been studied more extensively than those in North Africa, the results of this previous investigation and the subsequent conclusion of overt foreign

[684] See the discussion in Chapter 3, particularly Section A.
[685] Quinn (2013), 211-215.

influence has led to confirmation bias in the later analysis of the Maghreb. This is very similar to the early diffusionist approach discussed above relying on Celtic and other European examples to interpret the North African archaeology.

This is certainly not to deny that foreign influences were present in North Africa, only that a more holistic approach needs to be taken. The majority of interpretations to date, as seen in Chapter 2, leave one with the impression that foreign influences suddenly appeared in North Africa from the 4th and 3rd century BCE and were eagerly adopted by previously isolated local communities. However, long-distance contact and interaction was well established by this period. During the Bronze Age (3000 – 700 BCE), the Mediterranean saw a significant rise in economic interconnectivity, at least directly in the coastal regions and indirectly more inland through secondary trade. During this period the obvious transcultural resource (a resource which generates interconnection between cultures) was bronze. This led to widespread trade resulting in increased cultural contact throughout Afro-Eurasia.[686] Bronze effectively became a vehicle of cultural connectivity, facilitating the exchange of customs and traditions as a by-product of this trade. As these new influences were introduced and adopted, they did not necessarily stay the same and took on local variations. Vandkilde uses the term "creative translations" to describe this process, with the example of the widespread concept of warriorhood that took on culturally specific distinctions in various societies making it more applicable to each community.[687] This variety and variation is certainly present in the ancient Maghreb, as emphasised by the diversity of funerary archaeology in this region.

How should one then analyse these apparently foreign influences in a way that takes into consideration the diverse factors involved? While the middle-ranging approaches taken thus far have led to interesting and progressive insights, a process that takes into

[686] Vandkilde (2017), 509-510. See also Sherratt (2017).
[687] Vandkilde (2017), 512-514.

consideration the numerous dynamic features within cultural contact and exchange is globalization. A recent approach in the analysis of archaeology, globalization theory is a methodology that has not yet been applied to the funerary architecture of the ancient Maghreb. A significant benefit of this approach is that it does not imply any form of cultural domination or hierarchy, rather emphasis is placed on increased interconnectivity and interaction. The following discussion will be divided into two sections. Section A will focus on the application of globalization theory by ascertaining when this process occurred in North Africa before turning to the technicalities of how this can be identified and what the ramifications were for the indigenous communities. Once this framework is fully understood, Section B will then turn to the analysis of the Mediterranean archaeological examples that have long been associated with the origins and development of the Maghrebi funerary architecture. Through this discussion and the application of globalization theory it will be possible to gauge the extent to which contact and exchange influenced funerary practices among indigenous North African communities.

Section A: Globalization and the ancient Maghreb

4A.1. Globalization theory in the ancient world

Globalization, at its core, is the rapid increase of complex, interconnected networks made up of a variety of previously unconnected or loosely connected societies and communities (nodes), through which transmission of ideas and concepts lead to an overt change in the reality of said nodes. Although long held to be a characteristic of modern civilization, the process of globalization was certainly present in the ancient world. A new angle of inquiry was developed in the 1990s and 2000s, with scholars using this theoretical framework to analyse the ancient world.[688] Jennings takes this

[688] See for instance Frank (1993), Berstein (2008), various articles in Pitts and Versluys (2014).

framework further still by arguing that cultures need not undergo a single, sustained period of globalization, but could rather experience multiple phases of globalization at different periods. Globalization in its simplest form is the result of a growth in widespread interconnectivity, interaction, and exchange along new networks leading to increased contact, subsequent long-lasting influences, and a "global culture".[689] Jennings rightly points out that while the term 'global' in ancient eras could not encompass the entire world as it does today, the 'known world' at the time certainly constitutes the same concept.[690] The global reality of ancient civilizations could just as easily be impacted on, as seen in the modern era, by increased external contact, leading to social shifts ranging from the subtle to the dramatic. As the origins of this theoretical approach stem from a modern and truly global context, the term globalization still remains semantically problematic in an ancient application. As the ancient world was not connected on the same global scale, but rather on a more inter-regional basis, it may be best to think of this process as inter-regionalization or pan-regionalization as opposed to true globalization. For the sake of ease, the term globalization will continue to be used throughout this study as this is the wider theoretical approach to be taken, but the definition in this context will refer to inter-regional as opposed to global networks in its strictest sense. The global or inter-regional reality of the ancient Maghreb was certainly affected for a number of centuries in the 1st millennium BCE. However, this process did not start with the arrival of Mediterranean settlers in this millennium, and was an ongoing process from as early as the 4th millennium BCE, or, as Jennings would argue, through two separate periods of globalization.

Before we can turn to the analysis of these two phases of globalization in the ancient Maghreb, it is important to first recognize the characteristics of this process, allowing

[689] Nederveen Pieterse (2015), 45; Tomlinson (1999), 1-2, 10; Jennings (2011), 2-3, Hodos (2014), 241-242.
[690] Jennings (2011), 2-3.

for accurate identification and comprehension. Once these are better understood, it will be possible to analyse the periods of interaction in this region through the lens of globalization theory. The work of Jennings remains an important framework as this is one of the more recent successful applications of this theory to the archaeological record. Ancient examples, from archaeology as well as socio-cultural spheres, will be used throughout this discussion to briefly illustrate and explain these characteristics in the relevant context before a complete analysis occurs.

4A.1.1. The characteristics of globalization

Not all foreign contact leads to a process of globalization. There are a number of characteristics or symptoms that have to be met in order for this process to be identified: time-space compression, deterritorialization, unevenness, homogenization, standardization, cultural heterogeneity, re-embedding of local culture, and vulnerability. As these form part of the process in general, all trends need to be exhibited by a culture in order for globalization to have an impact.[691] Taking into consideration the various developments in North Africa over the two periods mentioned above, these trends are demonstrated in various forms.

- Time-space compression

This trend sees the rapid transmission of social, political, and cultural concepts through an increase in rate of travel and communication. This trend is dependent on the conditions of long-distance travel and contact, either through the development of efficient modes of transportation, such as the invention of the sail, or the discovery of new trade routes.[692] This essentially 'shrinks' the gaps between diverse communities and their distinct traditions, increasing the pace of the dissemination and adoption of different influences. As proven on numerous occasions throughout this current study, ancient North Africa was a remarkably well-connected region through the development

[691] Jennings (2017), 14-16.
[692] See Harvey (1990), in particular Part III; Tomlinson (1999), 3-6; Jennings (2017), 14.

of long-distance trade routes from an early date.[693] This resulted in the relatively quick spread of the cattle cult practice that eventually developed into the widespread tradition of the inhumation of humans.[694] This early connection only developed further over the centuries, becoming a well-established network by the 4th century BCE with increased contact with the Mediterranean. The recent work of Mattingly has also highlighted how agricultural and urban development occurred earlier than previously thought, which also accelerated cultural transfer and exchange by bringing more people into contact.[695] As the space between the diverse regions contracts, the time over which change through influences is seen shortens. This is what leads to the apparently sudden appearance of seemingly foreign elements, such as the use of Hellenistic or Classical motifs in the later elite tombs. The time between initial contact and the resultant cultural negotiation becomes increasingly shorter and shorter but does not imply unsophisticated local engagement with a wave of foreign influence.

- Deterritorialization

This trend implies the decrease in strict delineation between 'us and them', with a rise in more culturally fluid self- and social representation. With an increase in the cosmopolitan nature of certain centres through time-space compression, individuals start to show signs of foreign influence, be it through dress, language or behaviour, and lose a degree of affinity with their original culture.[696] In other words, their geographic setting no longer limits them to a specific cultural expression as this area becomes increasingly influenced by the cultures of other, outlying locations. The cosmopolitan nature of the Amazigh cities, such as Cirta and Dougga, with their bi- and tri-lingual inscriptions, and the introduction of currency, certainly speaks to the changes within

[693] See the relevant discussions in Chapter 1 and Chapter 3 Sections A and B.
[694] Di Lernia (2006).
[695] Mattingly (2016).
[696] Jennings (2017), 14; Tomlinson (1999), 106-149.

the indigenous society.[697] However, this did not come at the loss of local identities, instead forming part of the already multi-levelled form of social engagement and projection inherent in Amazigh communities.[698] The division between indigenous and foreign becomes increasingly blurred in the face of pragmatism and convenience. This will be discussed further below with regards to acculturation and enculturation.

- Unevenness

Unevenness is the characteristic by which contact and influence can be unequally distributed across the same area and through similar communities but with different outcomes for these communities, often demonstrated by an imbalance in political power and authority. [699] This is most evident during the later first millennium BCE where certain kingdoms, the Maures, Masaesyli, and Massyli, were far more involved and integrated with the incoming Roman power, as opposed to the Garamantes and Gaetuli.[700] This unevenness of power is also evident in the smaller tribal units, such as the Areacidae and Mesotulus' community, who, although having contact with Rome and the Punics, did not hold as much sway as the larger kingdoms.[701] Archaeologically this unevenness is evidenced by the seemingly unique development of the large, ashlar funerary monuments associated with the coastal kingdoms.

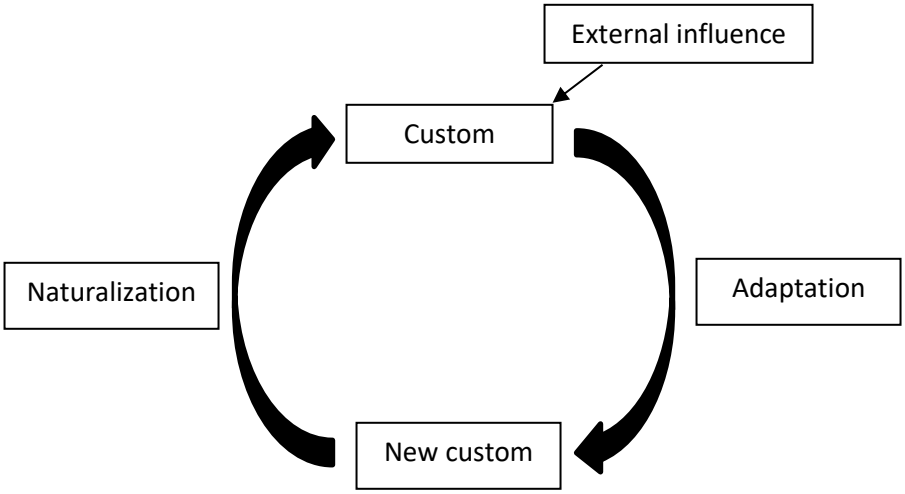
- Standardization

Standardization is the result of this increase in foreign contact with a desire to simplify cross-cultural communication and transaction through a shared format. Arguably a result of deterritorialization, standardization sees the wider adoption of a more uniform framework for ease of communication and operation over a large area, such as

[697] Brett and Fentress (1997), 37-40; Baldus (1979).
[698] See Chapter 1 on the indigenous socio-political dynamics of the ancient Maghreb.
[699] Jennings (2017), 15.
[700] See the discussion in Chapter 1, section 1.1b.
[701] Appian, *Pun*. 6.33. See the discussion in Chapter 1, section 1.1c.

shared units of measurements and weights, which helps to simplify transactions.[702] Nederveen Pieterse defines these adoptions either as gains, such as practical and convenient influences, or losses, such as displacement or alienation.[703] Whether an influence results in a gain or a loss is dependent on the culture within which it is being applied. With regards to the foreign influences present in the ancient Maghreb, a pragmatic approach was taken as the adoptions are more in the realm of benefits and gains rather than obscuring and undermining the cultural status quo. The adoption of languages and currencies previously unknown in the ancient Maghreb is not simply a sign of foreign cultures obscuring the local practices, but rather of local societies actively engaging with these foreign cultures through a common medium. It is important to bear in mind here that the adoption of Punic, Greek, or Latin and of coins did not replace pre-existing practices. Rather, these elements were utilised in order to better facilitate communication and trade alongside existing customs. This is illustrated by the continued use of Libyan names at Lepcis Magna and Gigthis, even into the 1st century CE when Latin and Greek became more widely used.[704] This standardization can also move beyond pragmatic adoptions and include less quotidian practices such as ritual and religion. Here, foreign influences would have an impact on a local custom which would undergo a process of adaptation to local conditions, essentially becoming a new custom. This would then be followed by a period of naturalization, where this 'new' custom subsequently becomes part of the established indigenous cultural language, although not necessarily originating locally.[705] This process could be spread over such a long period of time that the foreign roots of a practice are no longer recognised and therefore the custom is never thought of as anything but indigenous. The diagram below simplifies how this process could occur:

[702] Jennings (2017), 14-15; Tomlinson (1999), 6-7.
[703] Nederveen Pieterse (2015), 45; see also Tomlinson (1999), 107-108.
[704] Mattingly (1987), 74-75.
[705] Stewart (2011), 53.



This process of adoption, adaptation, and generation of trends, is not limited to the first millennium BCE, as the earliest megalithic tradition underwent regional adaptation, from the cattle cult to the burial of humans, as conditions changed and interaction took place.

- Homogenization

Homogenization is part of this implementation of standardization by which shared traits becoming increasingly commonplace across a large area and by a variety of communities, although variation can still occur. The process of globalization is simplified when foreign customs share similarities with the pre-existing traditions. Not all foreign practices need be completely alien, and those that share a degree of familiarity are easier to bring into an established culture as they are compatible with the pre-existing customs of this community, causing the least amount of disturbance to the status quo. This is also achieved by applying local variation to the custom or practice and does not necessitate perfect replication but rather interpretation and translation.[706] An example that can be used to illustrate this characteristic can be found in a later period of the ancient Maghreb, namely the use of coins by the Numidian elite,

[706] Jennings (2017), 15; Tomlinson (1999), 84.

when a foreign practice, currency, took on a uniquely local appearance. What this shows is that globalization is not a static process, but develops over time, with periods of high and low intensity. Although coins were adopted for ease of trade and commerce, the Numidian kings on these coins were still presented in an indigenous way, with an emphasis on their beards and thick hair.[707] This representation was evidently part of a long-standing and defining tradition, with portraits of elites depicted in similar ways. Images of Libyans in Egypt are identified by their unique hairstyles and pointed beards with numerous examples from the New Kingdom (1500 – 1050 BCE).[708] This emphasis on grooming and hair dressing is also seen in painted scenes in haouanet.[709] Bertrandy argues that the Chemtou Horseman stele is in fact the Mauretanian king Juba I, evidenced by his wavy and identifiably 'Numidian' hair and cavalry connection.[710] A further aspect is the Greco-Roman influence on language, where, in order to ensure the success of trade and politics beyond that of local contacts, language becomes paramount.[711] While languages and certain imagery may have been adopted for a broader form of communication, the overall cultures and traditions did not automatically follow suit with a continuation of existing conditions. Expressions may change but the underlying motivations and intentions remain the same.

- Cultural heterogeneity

Homogenization and heterogeneity can be considered two sides of the same coin. While homogenization still occurs, heterogeneity is also evident as it is the result of a number of influences coming into contact with pre-existing conditions leading to even more localised variation than that described above. While cultural change does occur,

[707] See the discussion in Chapter 1.
[708] O'Connor (1987). There are also a number of references by Herodotus (4.169, 180, 191) concerning the importance of hair care among Amazigh tribes.
[709] Ghaki (1999), 194-195.
[710] Bertrandy (1986).
[711] Woolf (1997), 346.

it does not necessarily have to follow a uniform format, even in the same region, due to differing local contexts.[712] While they had certain customs and practices in common, local variation among the communities of the Maghreb was generated by a range of factors, including geology, ideology, and their nearest foreign influences. This characteristic shows the active role communities have in applying any foreign influences to their own social context, resulting in a variation as discussed above. This is similar to the process of glocalization, where local contexts change the way in which more global, foreign influences are reacted to and adapted. Glocalization is the local reaction to globalization, resulting in heterogeneity through foreign cultural contact undergoing negotiation in line with local conditions.[713] This creates diversity although the same influences and stimuli are at play across a wide area, accounting for the simultaneous presence of homogeneity and heterogeneity during the process of globalization in a single society with numerous communities. This is evident in the ancient Maghreb with the diverse range of megalithic construction but the maintenance of the shared sacro-social observances within these tombs' functions as seen in Chapter 3.

While differences can occur on a smaller community scale, a wider shared social identity is still evident. The diversity in megalithic tomb types in a single necropolis, as discussed in Chapter 3, certainly speaks to this process. Although the 'global culture' of megalithic burial was introduced to the Maghreb from the 4th millennium BCE onwards, first with cattle and then humans, the application of this early tradition in later periods was diversified through glocalization, while remaining linked to the same, ancient roots. This cultural heterogeneity would only diverge more and more as each adaptation itself underwent further development based on specific local conditions. These conditions could vary from geography and topography to cultural and social circumstances. This emphasises the need to see the process of globalization in ancient

[712] Jennings (2017), 15.
[713] See Hodos (2010a), 83, (2017a), 6; Robertson (1995); Nustad (2003).

North Africa as occurring along a network and not limited to urban centres. This network would have brought together a number of diverse nodes of contact, either directly or indirectly, creating diversity within the same shared process of cultural exchange.

- Re-embedding of local culture(s)

Re-embedding is the result of some cultures consciously choosing to reaffirm their pre-existing and defining practices and customs when faced with external pressure and foreign influences. This essentially openly acknowledges the impact foreign cultures have on a society, with that society now deliberately asserting its self-identity, which it may believe is at risk of falling into obscurity.[714] This process of adapting to and integrating within a new cultural context while maintaining a link to one's origins is acculturation.[715] However, this process is susceptible to the delineation between a dominant and a heritage culture, which is especially problematic if the dominant culture is not benign, such as expressing xenophobia.[716] This has been countered by the emphasis on *enculturation*, which focusses on the individual's agency in engaging with multiple new influences as they become relevant or significant to this individual as well as those cultural traits that are considered essential to communal identity.[717] In this sense, the most meaningful and useful characteristics of a new culture can be deliberately adopted in order to satisfy a personal motivation and pre-existing conditions, remaining true to re-embedding, be it ease of communication or participation in a desired group or activity, similar to standardization. It is this process of enculturation which more accurately illustrates the cultural negotiation in the ancient Maghreb.

[714] Jennings (2017), 15; Baitinger and Hodos (2016), 15.
[715] See Berry (1997).
[716] Weinreich (2009), 124-125.
[717] Weinriech (2009), 125.

Throughout the development of local culture(s) in the ancient Maghreb and the engagement with foreign influences, the pre-existing indigenous forms of articulation are ever-present. From the organization of social and self-identity to the nuances of representation of traditional motifs on coins, although minting itself was a foreign practice, the local Amazigh culture is always visible despite newly acquired forms of expression. Although appearing to be a Hellenized society, there is a strong continuation of an actively engaged local identity willing to respond and easily negotiate multiple influences without losing its unique characteristics. This particular characteristic of globalization, re-embedding, is the most pervasive in the ancient Maghreb, and one that comes to the fore most clearly throughout this current study. The extent and implications of this will be discussed in more depth with regards to identity development in Chapter 5.

- Vulnerability

The final trend is vulnerability, which is the inherent risk that lies at the centre of a largescale, complicated, interconnected system where if one large entity or power were to fail, the entire system is at risk of collapse.[718] This is best demonstrated with the adoption of coin currency in the ancient Maghreb, where, if this system were undermined, the economy of not only the Imazighen but also the Romans, Punics, and other Mediterranean powers would be detrimentally affected. The trend of vulnerability is not dependent on the occurrence of such a catastrophe, but rather the possibility due to the highly integrated nature of globalized cultures and communities.

Taking into consideration the conditions prior to and during the periods of increased cultural interaction in the ancient Maghreb, globalization can certainly account for the characteristics of cultural development in this region from the 4th millennium and 4th century BCE, from the bridging of both cultural and geographic divides to the creation of multicultural and cosmopolitan contexts. As has also been demonstrated,

[718] Jennings (2017), 16.

globalization was not limited to the development of funerary practices but can be seen in other aspects of Maghrebi life including economics, language, and socio-politics. This study only serves to highlight the process of globalization as exemplified through the development of megalithism among the Imazighen. Now that it is possible to identify the process of globalization through the above characteristics, the discussion can turn to the two phases of globalization that occurred in the ancient Maghreb; the earlier 4th millennium BCE phase, and the later 4th century BCE phase.

4A.1.2. Phases of globalization in the ancient Maghreb

As noted in the introduction to Chapter 3, there were two periods of notable social change as evidenced by the burial practices in the ancient Maghreb: the 4th and 3rd millennia BCE and monumental burial development from the cattle cult tradition, and from the 5th and 4th centuries BCE onwards and the megalithic 'golden age'. In each case, ever-developing and spreading networks of trade and exchange resulted in the Maghreb coming into increased contact with other peoples and ideas, both from further into Africa and the Mediterranean. These two periods could therefore be described as periods of globalization. While interaction is an ongoing process, there can be periods of heightened contact and exchange. It is during these periods that the process of globalization takes place. Each of these periods saw the increase of wider networks, the results of which can be seen in the changing articulation of burial practices: firstly, the *emergence* of the megalithic tradition, and secondly, the *evolution* of the megalithic tradition. In order for globalization to have occurred successfully, two features need to be present: heightened contact between different peoples and places, and the development of a global culture as evidenced by subsequent social changes.[719] While trade items are one way of analysing the effects of long-distance contact, this current study focusses on the ritual elements of connectivity in the form of funerary practices.

[719] Jennings (2011), 13.

Where Jennings' argument and this current study differ, is that Jennings sees globalization in his ancient case studies as dependent on rapid urbanization that led to an increase in the flow of contact and exchange. Jennings also considers the exchange within regional contact and networks inadequate in bringing about a globalized process.[720] However, if communities operating on wide-spread and long-distance regional networks are influenced by this contact and exchange and this leaves a marked impression on these communities, is this not the very definition of globalization? The length of a network should not be a determining factor as networks are branching concepts with indeterminate numbers of lines of exchange between nodes of contact. Tributaries and distributaries are what make these networks complex and extensive by connecting otherwise disparate branches to each other, even if indirectly. This settled urbanization, as required for Jennings' definition of globalization, is not present at the same scale in 4000 BCE North Africa as they are in Jennings' case studies, but this does not mean that globalization did not occur at this time in the Maghreb. Due to the nature of the semi-nomadic and pastoral communities in North Africa, trans-Saharan trade created just as much interconnectivity in this vast area as more settled civilizations elsewhere. For this current study, the development of cities is not necessary for an increase in inter-regional connectivity. The size of a society's known world is therefore only limited by their expansion into or contact with previously unexplored territories, which in turn is limited by necessity, accessibility, ability, and general curiosity. As discussed in Chapter 3, there was a vast trade network across not only North Africa but also deep into the Sahara and beyond, leaving a mark on Maghrebi society in the form of new ways of articulating ancient practices. This can be seen through the recent Trans-SAHARA and Desert Migrations project demonstrating 4th millennium developments, as well as the continuation of this interconnectivity into the Roman period through various material finds from the coast

[720] Jennings uses the case studies of Uruk-Warka (Iraq), Cahokia (America), and Huari (Peru), (2011), 36, 38.

to the Niger bend which brought together previously unconnected communities over a number of centuries.[721] On the other hand, the second instance of globalization from the mid-first millennium BCE onwards, *can* be seen as a result of urbanization, with larger settlements and cities developing numerous networks. Therefore, in the case of the ancient Maghreb, one is left with an earlier non-traditional phase of globalization, and a later more traditional phase as based on the current definition of this process.

Early, non-traditional globalization

As discussed in Chapter 3, the African cattle cult tradition led to a new form of human megalithic burial across the Sahara from the 4th to 3rd millennium BCE.[722] The spread of this cult and its influential architecture, leading to the burial of humans within megalithic tombs, coincided with the drying out of the Sahara and the movement of communities away from these drier regions to more fertile areas, encountering other communities who had either also migrated to these new regions or already had an established presence there.[723] The earliest sites for human burial within megalithic tombs include those from the Messak Settafet and Acacus regions of western Libya and eastern Algeria with tombs dating to approxiametly 5000 BP.[724] With this movement and the increase of networks across the desert, the concept of megalithic construction for human funerary purposes spread. Once established, this became a significant factor in burial traditions, inter-regionally and across communities, now no longer limited to a single localised area or cultural heritage. The associated ritual behaviour of the cattle cult too was presumably adopted alongside its architecture, and a new form of performance and articulation developed in the memorialization of humans on a scale not yet seen. This was certainly not a passing phase in the funerary tradition of the

[721] Desert Migrations (website); Trans-SAHARA (website); Liverani (2000); Mattingly (2017); Mattingly et al. (2017); Di Lernia (2006, 2013); Di Lernia and Manzi (2002a); Di Lernia et al. (2013); Wilson (2012).
[722] Di Lernia (2006).
[723] The debate whether people migrated due to a push from increasingly arid areas or a pull towards fertile areas is noted in Di Lernia (2006), 51-52. See also Meze-Hausken (2000) on the role of climate change in migration.
[724] Di Lernia (2006).

Sahara with its impact lasting into the later periods, changing the way the deceased were buried and interacted with. As Di Lernia notes, this movement from cattle burial to human burial heralded a "cognitive shift" in the way in which megalithic structures were now being used, with a change in emphasis from cattle to humans as significant figures in socio-political mediation.[725] As megalithic tombs for human burial are found across the Maghreb from the 3rd millennium BCE onwards, this new social development was certainly seen as important and binding. This essentially became a new form of communication, and as it was now expressed by communities across this vaste area, the importance of this shared practice is obvious.

This evolution in ritual practices, concerning the inhumation of deceased individuals as initiated by the cattle cult tradition, implies the development of certain social dynamics. Firstly, for a highly sacred rite, namely megalithic burial, to be transferred to humans as opposed to cattle implies a change in the social position of specific individuals who were visibly honoured in death above those who were not. Secondly, it also calls for the creation of certain sacred roles, such as individuals who were considered capable of performing the associated rituals. Thirdly, the size of and energy required to construct these tombs also imply a certain degree of community engagement and cooperation, perhaps even beyond familial links. This development therefore had a far-reaching impact on the Maghrebi way of life, not only in their architecture but also their social dynamics. As seen in the argument throughout Chapter 3, these tombs would come to represent more than just burials and are also linked to territorial and political projections. This migration of peoples and their traditions from the 4th millennium BCE led to a significant and lasting socio-ritual development in this region that came to define these funerary practices across a large and diverse area, appropriately recognised as a period of globalization as a new global culture of megalithic burial, first for cattle then for human, became a widely recognised

[725] Di Lernia (2006), 60-61.

practice and form of communication. While the concept of globalization stems from economics, this is not necessarily unsuitable for this current study.[726] Since climate change effectively limited the productive output of the pastoral communities dependent on the dwindling resources, it was still economic concerns that drove the migration out of the increasingly arid areas and into more fertile lands. While economics remains the catalyst behind the initial migration, the lasting impact of this movement is simply exemplified by the continuation and adaptation of the new megalithic traditions in this region.

This can also be expanded to include the development of the use of standing stones and steles in northern Africa and the Sahara.[727] As the cattle cult spread, arguably as the result of migration due to climate change, so too would other elements of the ritual tradition. The drying out the Sahara would have forced movement first from east to west and then away from the centre and towards the edges of the now more arid zones. This can be graphically represented as in Fig.4.1. In this hypothetical and very simplified map, the movement of pastoralists from the east to the west, due to climate change and increasing aridity, brings not only people but also their ideas and traditions. As the cattle cult tumuli and standing stones are 'carried' across the Sahara, the time-space compression and subsequent deterritorialization brings different peoples and practices into contact resulting in variation upon a common theme; funerary megalithism. As also shown in Chapter 3, this standing stone tradition is arguably what would have made the development of tower tombs appropriate and acceptable to a local audience during the Hellenistic period, stemming from homogenization. This in turn leads to heterogeneity in articulation but retains the underlying, shared tradition and ritual intention of megalithic structures used in funerary practices. This movement of people out of the desert and into more arable areas would have placed a great deal of strain on the already limited resources. It is this factor that would have caused the

[726] See Sherratt (2017) on economics and globalization in Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean.
[727] See the complete discussion in Chapter 3 Section C.

development of the more socio-political aspects of the once primarily ritual structures, such as their expression of social-stratification and territoriality.[728] Besides this initial period of increased contact and cultural exchange, a second phase of globalization of a more traditional definition is also evident during the first millennium BCE.

Later, traditional globalization

The second instance of globalization from the 4th century BCE onwards suits the traditional definition of this process more closely. However, as this definition is connected to urbanization, it is important to make a clear distinction. Urbanization, although at times rapid, is an organic process with various push and pull factors, while colonization, which can also be rapid, is a somewhat artificially created process, with a pre-conceived framework of socio-political interaction introduced within a new geographical and cultural setting. This does not necessarily centre on settlements as defined in the modern sense but rather the framework of socio-political interaction and accountability that comes with the application of foreign created legal, political, and financial systems. Van Dommelen argues that ancient colonialism also differs from modern colonialism in that there is no presumption of violence or exploitation, as characteristic of more recent times.[729] From the 4th century BCE onwards in the Maghreb there is a combination of both organic urbanization and more artificial colonization, although at its earliest stages in North Africa. While the period under discussion is that of an independent, pre-Roman Maghreb, similar factors of cultural negotiation as seen in the later colonial periods of the Roman world are shared by the Hellenistic period North Africa under review and therefore offer interesting parallels for comparison. As shown by Mattingly, urbanization in the Maghreb occurred at a much earlier date than previously thought and from indigenous origins and motivations.[730] While indigenous political and economic development led to the increase in settled

[728] See Chapter 3 for a more in depth discussion of these aspects.
[729] Van Dommelen (2002), 212-122. This is somewhat countered by Hingley (1997).
[730] Mattingly (2016).

communities and cities in the ancient Maghreb, Phoenician and Roman contact meant that new formats of a fully-formed urban reality were introduced. These formats of urban realities, with their unique dynamics and characteristics, would have undergone phases of development in their home territories over an extended period of time. It is the presence of these phases of development that makes urbanization organic and the lack of which makes colonization relatively artificial, oftentimes resulting in incompatibility. However, this incompatibility is not insurmountable and pragmatic negotiation can lead to the development of successful, multi-origin communities, as proven by the later development of Roman period North Africa.[731] Castles, though, warns that multi-culturalism does not automatically result in a conflict-free homogenous society.[732] Communities would need to actively engage with this diversity in order to progress, resulting in pragmatic approaches that are dynamic and continuous. We might consider Woolf's analogy of "an organism that metabolizes other matter and is itself transformed by what it feeds on".[733] This implies neither a dominant nor subordinate position, rather an ongoing process of reaction, adaptation, and change for all parties involved.

It is this negotiation and development that becomes evident during the second half of the first millennium BCE in the Maghreb. As discussed in Chapter 3, the indigenous ancient Maghreb was a complex society of an equally nomadic and sedentary population within which there were multiple complimentary levels of social identity and allegiance. Although covering a vast area, the Maghreb was relatively well-connected within the African continent from an early date, with trade routes extending far into the Sahara and beyond. For example, burials from Fazzan revealed such items as a pre-dynastic blade and faience beads, showing a link to Egyptian networks. More enigmatic objects, including a vessel in a style linked to Niger, may also connect these

[731] Kardulias and Hall (2008), 573, 578; Jennings (2011), 44.
[732] Castles (2002), 1159.
[733] Woolf (1997), 344.

Fazzan communities to trade from the South.[734] While single items do not prove large trade networks, they certainly show connectivity across vaste areas, even if indirect through secondary trade. Long-distance trade routes were certainly established by the time Mediterranean contact increased, which would have enhanced the speed of transmission and dissemination of cultural influences and exchange.[735] These established connections transform the Sahara from a vast, desolate environment into a bustling commercial hub, teaming with trade and economic activities through which cultural contact and exchange were facilitated. This is also true for the Mediterranean. With the increase in Phoenician contact and Punic settlement on the coast of the Maghreb, the sea became as important for trade as the established desert routes.

The 'closing' of these geographic gaps, time-space compression, both in the Sahara and the Mediterranean, was increased not only by trade but also the settlement of foreign peoples and their traditions, which in turn accelerated cultural exchange and transmission. This subsequently increased the cosmopolitan nature of urban centres through deterritorialization. Boardman tentatively argues for pre-sixth-century BCE Greek settlement near Carthage, although not yet seen in the archaeological record but rather based on the *Periplus* of psuedo-Skylax, while Strabo informs us of the introduction of Greek colonists to Cirta under Micipsa in the 2nd century BCE.[736] This influx of foreign settlers seems to have resulted in a multiplicity of identity. The easy shift between these various forms of self-identity, as previously discussed in Chapter 3, is evidenced by inscriptions at Cirta using three languages, Latin, Greek, and Punic, as well as the Dougga inscription in Libyc and Punic.[737] A further element is the introduction of coins struck by indigenous kings. This practice was previously limited to

[734] These contexts range from 1530 to 300 BCE, Di Lernia et al. (2002b), 75, 87, 95, 126-127, 141.
[735] See Chapter 3 for a discussion of these long distance links. See also Wilson (2012) for Roman period equivalents.
[736] Boardman (2006); Strabo XVII.3.13.
[737] Brett and Fentress (1997), 37-40. Massinissa is also described as exploiting "all his cultures to the hilt, dressing and fighting like a Roman, speaking like a Carthaginian and sending his sons to Greece like a Hellenistic monarch", Fentress (2006), 10-11. For the Dougga inscription see Chapter 2.

Carthage, and the circulation of indigenous coins only started in the 3rd century BCE.[738] Although these coins show engagement with Hellenistic trends, including the diademed portrait of the ruler and Latin inscriptions with Punic titles, they also incorporated local tastes, such as the thick hair and beards of the figures on the obverse, and horse imagery on the reverse.[739] The employment of these foreign practices, language and currency, could simply be seen as a means of increasing economic efficiency through standardization as opposed to the 'Punicization', 'Hellenization', or 'Romanization' of the local people.[740] By using languages and coins that would have been more widely recognised by the increasingly diverse population, commerce and daily business would certainly have been much easier and more effective. This practice of efficiency can be paralleled with the later Roman Empire, where Romans were more likely to "[patronize] the civilized", as Woolf puts it, and those they deemed to have adopted a sufficient degree of Roman practices.[741] A similar practice of cultural negotiation was occurring in pre-Roman North Africa as politics and economics became increasingly connected with the Mediterranean world and this level of communication became more important, leading to a shared practice developing. This, therefore, becomes a pragmatic choice as opposed to a purely imitative and emulative practice.

Local involvement and agency in the development of their society during this period is not a new concept, of course: Benabou famously argued for a resistance to Romanization on the part of indigenous North Africans.[742] However, his approach has received criticism from a number of later Maghreb scholars.[743] This nativist approach is often too extreme in the opposite direction and confirmation bias has been shown to

[738] Kormikiari (2005), 349; Baldus (1979).
[739] Kormikiara (2005), 349-350. See the significance of indigenous horse imagery in Chapter 1.
[740] The validity of concepts such as Romanization, Hellenization, and nativism has been in doubt for some time, see for instance Mattingly (1996); Woolf (1997), 340-341; Webster (2001), 211-217; Quinn (2003); Fentress (2006).
[741] Woolf (1997), 346; see Tomlinson (1999), 187 on cosmopolitan privilege; see Hingley (1997) for the debate on progressive Romanization.
[742] Benabou (1976).
[743] See for instance Mattingly (1996); Woolf (1997), 340-341; Quinn (2003), 8.

creep in, with underlying indigenous customs being actively sought and inevitably found in the analysis of the material culture.[744] This approach is also reliant on development being dependent on another, external culture and somewhat undermines any independent agency.[745] As van Dommelen states, "colonialism should be considered as much a local phenomenon as a supraregional process", with the reactions to and engagement with incoming influences an essential part of how colonialism took place in different areas and at different times.[746] This diverse nature of later first millennium BCE Maghrebi society was certainly not a new phenomenon for the indigenous North Africans and fits neatly into their pre-existing practices of active engagement with various peoples. In the elite circles of the Maghrebi kingdoms, this engagement is evident in the material culture associated with these individuals, ranging from bilingual inscriptions to depictions on coins. The consequences of these influences, however, should not be viewed as dual identities as they are not mutually exclusive. An individual does not need to relinquish an old tradition in order to associate themselves with a new one. Instead, this can create a broader social and self-identity which incorporated and accommodated the new customs and behaviours alongside and even within the old, without either custom being completely obscured or compromised but rather complimentary. This is similar to Weinreich's argument for enculturation, previously outlined, where active engagement with incoming influences leads to a fully-aware agent participating in their own cultural negotiation.[747] These are conscious decisions with deliberate outcomes of multi-layered projections of social and self-identity. As can be seen in Chapter 3, while the Hellenistic period structures certainly made use of foreign elements and trends they were also drawing heavily on the pre-existing customs associated with recognised formats of burial deeply rooted in

[744] This can be paralleled with the 'Africanisms' found in African American slave culture used as evidence for resistance to European influences, Webster (2001), 212-213.
[745] Kempf (1994), 110; Woolf (1997), 340; Van Dommelen (2002), 123.
[746] Van Dommelen (2002), 142.
[747] Weinreich (2009), 124-125.

the Amazigh and wider North African culture(s) and traditions. This second period of globalization, therefore, did not lead to a break from tradition, but rather a continuation and progression along a natural trajectory, driven and sustained by indigenous agents and motivations.

This progression, however, is not necessarily uniform in its application. Although sharing a generally similar culture, the communities of the ancient Maghreb also showed a significant degree of local variation. The presence of diverse megalithic traditions within the same necropolis is indicative of this. Different religious, social, and political conditions would normally result in varying articulations in funerary practices.[748] This would therefore also be true once foreign influences are introduced, with certain traits being seen as more adaptable than others depending on these pre-existing conditions. Environmental factors too play a role in this, with local geology being the most obvious. As discussed in the previous chapter, the availability of materials has an effect on what could and could not be achieved in funerary construction such as mounds being built where larger, regular stones are not available, or dolmens lacking tumuli where smaller, loose stones are equally rare.[749] This variability is demonstrated by Camps, who highlights how certain funerary traditions are more prevalent in some regions as opposed to others.[750] While there is a largely similar progression of funerary traditions across the Maghreb, as seen in the introduction of Chapter 3, this development still occurred in a relatively regional and heterogeneous way within the framework of glocalization as discussed above. Proximity to the Mediterranean or the Sahara seems to have the greatest impact here as these regions bring diverse influences with which the local Maghreb communities could actively engage. This would subsequently lead to variation in the development of certain traditions as the contributing factors combined with local customs would differ.

[748] See O'Shea in Chapter 3 Section B; Hodos (2017a), 6 on variability in complex societies.
[749] See section 3B.1.5. on construction and materials.
[750] Camps (1961), 121-122, Fig.22.

The continuation of this variety in a community's funerary practices is seen even in the Hellenistic period with the use of monumental tumuli alongside tower tombs. The implications and possible reasons behind this will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

As Quinn notes, the incoming and relatively new foreign forms of elite expression were placed alongside the more traditional methods of articulation to create a widely understood message of power and control through a form of standardization.[751] While political and economic motivations are clear, this is only part of the social shift seen in the second half of the first millennium BCE, with the megalithic 'golden age' being a further significant stage. Since the expression of wider cultural references, as noted by Quinn, are essentially limited to the elite, it is important to try and establish how this period affected the sub-elite majority in the Maghreb. The initial construction of megalithic tombs to inter humans from the 4th to 3rd millennium BCE onwards was driven by the push-pull factors of the drying out of the Sahara. These factors would have naturally led to the development of new social dynamics, most notably a hierarchy where before there seems to have been a greater degree of hegemony.

These two phases of globalization resulted in significant shifts in the development of the funerary tradition of the ancient Maghreb. The first saw the creation of human burials in a new form, while the second saw the evolution of this form. In each case the underlying traditions of ritual behaviour and interaction remained the same, showing a link from the earliest period to the latest. Equally, in each case, the characteristics of globalization are clear. North Africa experienced two periods of time-space compression with the increase of inter-regional movement, resulting in a growth of cosmopolitan contact through deterritorialization. This saw the rise in new cultural and socio-political experiences requiring a standardization of communication to facilitate productive interactions. These interactions led to a growing sense of homogeneity as new customs were affected by the pre-existing practices and traditions while

[751] Quinn (2009), (2013).

glocalization resulted in heterogeneity through variations attuned to the diverse local conditions. Essentially, while contact and exchange between previously unconnected cultures resulted in new forms of articulation and expression, these maintained a clear and deliberate link to the pre-existing traditions through the re-embedding of the established norms and practices. Now that it has been established how globalization can be identified in the ancient Maghreb and the impact this had in a wider African context, the discussion can turn to the Mediterranean evidence. Section B will first highlight the general trends of megalithic development in the Mediterranean before turning to the extent to which these traditions could have influenced those of ancient North Africa.

Section B: The Maghreb in the Mediterranean

4B.1. Mediterranean megalithism

As the archaeology of ancient North Africa has drawn so many comparisons and parallels with that of the Mediterranean, and in particular the westernmost islands of this sea, it is important to evaluate the degree to which these external regions could truly be responsible for the development of the funerary traditions amongst the Imazighen. The physical connection between these regions is certainly tenable as early trade and Phoenician settlement generated links in the Mediterranean.[752] This may fuel the argument that Mediterranean culture and all its trappings filtered down to the indigenous inhabitants through the Punic civilization resulting in the megalithic tradition from the 5th and 4th centuries BCE onwards. Camps for one links the origins of some of the megalithic traditions of Morocco with Iberia, the Algerian ones with Sardinia and perhaps the Balearics, and suggests that Tunisia was influenced by Malta and Sicily. This rather neat subdivision of the perceived foreign influences on North

[752] See the discussion in Chapter 1.

Africa seems primarily driven by geographic proximity. Camps even goes so far as to state that the Algerian and Tunisian dolmens are "incontestably" foreign in origin.[753] He does concede, though, that the introduction of this tradition, while after the Neolithic period, was prior to the establishment of the Punic culture, linking it to earlier trade between the Mediterranean islands and the Maghrebi coast and not solely during the period of Punic colonisation.[754] However, Camps' conclusion as to the foreign roots of this tradition does not seem to go beyond the external, architectural similarities of these structures, with no hint as to how pervasive and influential the Mediterranean traditions may have been. As has been shown throughout Chapter 3, socio-ritual engagement and interaction forms as much of an essential part of the articulation of funerary practices as the external superstructure of a tomb. These are indivisible elements, part of a larger ritualised whole and one cannot be taken into consideration without the other. The external elements inform the internal, and vice versa. With their links to the expression of hierarchy, territoriality, economics, ancestry, and sacred significance, tombs and their associated ritual connections played vital roles in the lives of the indigenous Maghrebi communities for many centuries.

To successfully gauge the extent of the impact of Mediterranean megalithic and funerary traditions on North African ones, this section will consider these external, non-African traditions. The focus will be on the regions most often associated with this apparent foreign influence, namely Iberia, the Balearics, Sardinia, Malta, and Sicily. Once the dominant traditions have been established it will be possible to see where overlap or divergence occurs and what this means for the early Amazigh megalithic tradition. An important point to make when conducting cross-cultural analysis of the funerary archaeology of the western Mediterranean is the imbalance in available evidence. While certain regions, such as Iberia and Sardinia, are well-studied and

[753] Camps (1961), 148-152. Camps' map all too neatly sums up the 'origins' of North African megalithism (1961), 151, Fig.45.
[754] Camps (1961), 151.

widely-published, scholarship on others may be less available. This is not to say that this evidence is not preserved, and there is certainly enough archaeology to warrant further research, but simply that the current levels of study are not on equal footing across these regions. What will follow is a brief summary of the major trends in pre-Phoenician megalithic and funerary archaeology in these regions before an analysis of these results in light of the Amazigh evidence.

4B.1.1. Iberia

The early funerary traditions of ancient Iberia included the use of caves from the Neolithic period. Caves with diminutive dimensions were used continually up until the early 6th millennium BCE when open-air burials, cist graves, earth mounds with circular stone rings, and the development of megalithic practices started to appear.[755] The Middle Neolithic period shows an increase in evolution with a greater definition between living and funerary spaces. Although there is clear continuation of preceding practices, cave and collective burials, these appear more diverse. This is seen in the pit graves that take on a number of different forms in large necropoleis ranging from single to quadruple interments.[756] The megalithic development, chambered cairns, mounds, and dolmenic structures, started to appear around 5700 BCE, with passage graves appearing from 5400 BCE. The Late Neolithic saw no real change but there was an increased emphasis on secondary collective burials. Ribé et al. argue that this trend of larger tombs and burials seems to indicate a greater awareness of visible territorial delineation.[757] This development appears to continue into the later periods (4th to 2nd millennium BCE) with an increase in what Gonzalo terms the "peasant way of life" and a shift in the interaction between humans and the land expressed most clearly in the

[755] Ribé et al. (1997), 75.
[756] Ribé et al. (1997), 76-78. More than 100 pit graves were found at Bobila Madurell in Valles showing variation in shape, Ribé et al. (1997), 78; Martín et al. (1988), 16-19; Campillo et al. (1993).
[757] Ribe et al. (1997), 79-81.

funerary tradition.[758] He argues that as hunter-gatherers were not dependent on a specific territory for their livelihood, the buried dead would not need to be associated with the living land but rather another, otherworldly realm. This link only really becomes important when the specific piece of land increases in significance and then becomes threatened, warranting an indication of ownership.[759] Population growth and increasing pressure on limited resources could certainly lead to such an articulation.

The Chalcolithic period of the mid to late 3rd millennium BCE saw further agricultural development and stability. This increased emphasis on the land, its resources, and settlement led to the evolution of more complex rituals and tombs such as *tholoi* (tumuli-like structures) and dolmens (Fig.4.2).[760] There also appears to be an increase in the ritual group engagement of the living with the dead as evidenced by the creation of larger spaces within the megalithic tombs and burial caves.[761] This engagement started to take on an interesting expression from the 3rd millennium BCE with the introduction of marble idols and figurines, found in diverse forms throughout Iberia.[762] Collective burial also continued, including up to 200 inhumations in a single tomb at La Pijotilla.[763] Space was subsequently created in crowded tombs by arranging defleshed skulls along the side walls, emphasising the importance of this body part above the rest of the remains.[764] The collective tradition starts to taper off in the 2nd millennium BCE with the rise in individual burials, as evidenced by the circular graves of Guadajira. This follows a general trend from the 4th to 2nd millennium showing a move away from community involvement to a greater emphasis on the individual and an increase in social

[758] Gonzalo (1997), 85, 88. The link between tombs and territory is discussed more in Chapter 3 of this thesis.
[759] Gonzalo (1997), 89.
[760] As Hoskin notes, *tholoi* is a misnomer as the Mycenean tombs that these Iberian structures are named for post-date the Iberian examples, (2001), 58; Gonzalo (1997), 90-91. Seventeen Iberian *tholoi* can be found at El Baranquete necropolis, Jiménez and Medina (2014).
[761] Gonzalo (1997), 92.
[762] Hurtado (1997), 110-113, (1980).
[763] See Márquez-Romero and Jiménez-Jáimez (2013) on La Pijotilla and similar structures.
[764] Hurtado (1997), 114-115.

hierarchy.[765] The late 2nd and early 1st millennium BCE also saw the introduction of cremation urnfields, linked to the Urnfield culture, from the region of southern France, showing a shift in the ritual behaviour in Iberia but retaining a somewhat megalithic funerary tradition, since urns were frequently buried in tumuli.[766] Zapatero notes that due to the low diversity in burial typology and grave inclusions, this indicates a more uniform society and suggests a shift away from the preceding trend of individuality. Zapatero also argues that this may indicate a gradual immigration of peoples into the region and adaptation of these influences within the already established traditions.[767] While these practices may demonstrate external influences, they may not necessarily be the result of immigration and foreign incursion into the area, but rather cultural exchange with communities elsewhere.

A more rapid immigration occurred in the late 9th and early 8th centuries BCE with the arrival of Phoenicians and the appearance of production centres in some parts of the peninsula. The local reaction to this period is exemplified by the re-establishment of the pre-existing concentrated settlements and the development of fortified hillforts and *oppida* with an emphasis on consolidation and defence. Once again, this period saw greater social stratification with the introduction of steles upon which symbols of wealth were displayed, including warriors in chariots and luxury items such as weapons, while 17 burial mounds at La Joya exhibit what are described as oriental influences in the burial offerings showing Phoenician connections.[768] This evidence points to a period of increased contact and at times conflict, with a greater degree of competition between the locals and the newcomers. These centuries saw the general

[765] Hurtado (1997), 121-124. See García Sanjuán (1999) on the development of social stratification and its articulation in ancient Iberia. On Guadajira see Hurtado and Garcia (1994).
[766] Zapatero (1997), 163-166 ; Broodbank (2015), 473-474.
[767] Zapatero (1997), 166; 171; Aubet (2001), 285.
[768] Rodríguez (1997), 177-179.

rise of Phoenician interaction, a trend that is noted across many regions of the western Mediterranean at this time, as seen in the Maghreb in Chapter 1 section 1.2B.[769]

4B.1.2. Balearic Islands

The arrival of the Phoenicians and Romans certainly had a dramatic effect on the Balearics, but prior to this increased contact, Mallorca and Menorca were only permanently settled from the end of the 3rd millennium BCE, with the pinnacle of the Talayotic culture between 1300 and 800 BCE.[770] From the 2nd millennium, the iconic cyclopean architecture began with the development of talayots, taulas, and navetas, as well as augmented caves, rock-cut tombs, dolmens, and steles (Fig.4.3 and Fig.4.4). Gili et al. describe the development of this megalithic construction as indicative of moments of continental contact with longer periods of isolation in between, resulting in similarities with, yet variation from, mainland examples.[771] With regards to chronology, the rock-cut tombs and augmented caves appear to be the earliest, with examples dating from the mid-second millennium BCE but showing a long period of use.[772] Dolmens appear later, potentially inspired by south-eastern France and northern Catalonia, and for a relatively short period, as they were abandoned by 1150 BCE.[773]

Presumably due to the rise in competition and warfare, the talayotic culture is best known for its megalithic and arguably defensive architecture. As Hoskin notes, the Arabic-derived word 'talayot' translates roughly to watch tower, suggesting a new wariness in the Balearic communities, or even the less violent competition of prestige demonstrated by these large, tower-like structures (Fig.4.3).[774] This appears to be supported by the apparent inter-community first-millennium BCE necropolis at Calas

[769] See for instance Moscati (1968), 189-242; Quinn and Vella (2014).
[770] Gili et al. (2006), 829; Hoskin (2001), 37; see also Alcover et al. (2001) for evidence of this early chronology.
[771] Gili et al. (2006), 829-830.
[772] Cova des Carritx for instance shows 600 years of use with a burial rate of 1 per 2.7 years, Gili et al. (2006), 833.
[773] Gili et al (2006), 832.
[774] Hoskin (2001), 37; Gili et la. (2006), 834.

Covas where the limestone cliffs feature over one hundred augmented cave burials, a number too large to serve a single settlement.[775] More sanctified spaces, and those that have become iconic symbols of this culture, are the T-shaped stele-like Menorcan taulas ('table' in Catalan), which, along with their curved surrounding walls and ritual goods, have been associated with cult practices (Fig.4.3). This very large stele-like structure either formed the focal point of an open-air ritual space or the central roof support for an enclosed sanctuary.[776] With regards to megalithic burial, the navetas are the most distinctive Balearic tomb. Constructed on Menorca in three phases from 1800 to 1000 BCE and resembling an upended boat, a naveta consisted of an entrance passage and a rectangular chamber encased in a limestone prism.[777] Grinsell argues that these communal tombs, some of which were used until 600 BCE, could be imitating the internal shape of burial caves such as Cueva de Son Vivo and Cueva de la Torre d'el Ram or even the local form of housing.[778]

An interesting ritual development in the later talayotic culture is the emphasis placed on the head of the corpse, which was detached from the rest of the body with the hair often died red or even placed in a separate container. The importance of the head can be seen in the lining of cave and navetas walls with these body parts, much like the Iberian practice discussed above.[779] As these tombs were used communally, the preservation of the head as opposed to the rest of the body appears to be a space-saving technique with the most identifying feature of the living body, the head and by extension the face, being kept, which is unsurprising and should not automatically be considered an imported foreign custom. As this tradition continued from caves to

[775] Hoskin (2001) 37-38.
[776] Lagarda Mata (2004), 4; Hoskin links the taula sanctuaries to a healing or medicine cult through the apparent veneration of the Centaurus constellation and Aesclepius' teacher Chiron, (2001), 40-43.
[777] Examples include Rafal Rubí, Cotaina d'en Carrera, and the well preserved Es Tudons, Hoskin (2001), 170-174.
[778] Grinsell (1981), 196-197.
[779] This practice is seen across diverse architecture showing a strong, shared ritual trend, Gili et al. (2006), 834, 840.

navetas, this shows that, although there was a development of megalithic architecture, the fundamental ritual practices were retained. By the 9th century BCE and the development of fortified talaiots, the caves and navetas were abandoned, with a rise in a more pronounced individualism and social hierarchy.[780] This coincides with increased foreign contact and Phoenician expansion.

4B.1.3. Sardinia

Balearic megalithism, and in particular the curving taula walls, is often compared to that of ancient Sardinia. Populated from the Palaeolithic period, Sardinia was later settled from the 6th millennium BCE by Tuscan agriculturists via Corsica, with development of the Bonu Ighinu and Ozieri cultures until the 4th millennium BCE.[781] From this period, there appears to be a cultural change. This is demonstrated by the introduction of menhirs and perhaps other mainland influences as supported by an increase in the distribution of mainland pottery styles.[782] Between 2200 and 1700 BCE there was what has been described as a break in tradition with the almost complete abandonment of once well-used settlements and necropoleis. Instead, a more simplified lifestyle was practiced, including the reuse of ancient funerary and domestic locations.[783] This appears to coincide with increased external contact and trade with the arrival of a seemingly foreign warrior culture and the rise of the Bonnanaro society in the Early Bronze Age.[784] The most famous funerary remains to come from this period (2000 – 700 BCE), and found throughout the island, are the highly decorated *domus de janas* hypogea cut into cliffs above water courses (Fig.4.5).[785] Over 2 000 of these complex rock-cut structures were concentrated in the north-western and central

[780] Gili et al. (2006), 837.The tower-like talaiots have been linked to various functions including defensive habitation, Micó (2006), 424.
[781] Dyson and Rowland (2007), 17-20; 35; Webster (1996), 47; (2015), 12.
[782] Webster (1996), 44-61; (2015), 12.
[783] Webster (2015), 12.
[784] Balmuth (1992), 677; Webster (2015), 12-13.
[785] Robin (2016), 429; Rampazzi et al. (2007), 560. Robin (2016) gives a detailed overview of the internal paintings in these tombs and their ritualistic functions

regions of Sardinia with secondary, collective, disarticulated burials the most common interment. The best examples include Santu Pedru in Alghero, Anghelu Ruju, and S. Andrea Priu (Bonorva) (Fig.4.5).[786] Interestingly, 82 of these tombs mimic the wooden internal supports and hearths of domestic dwellings.[787] These are similar to the internal structures found in tombs in the Banditaccia necropolis at Cerveteri (mainland Italy), but as the Sardinian hypogea predate the monumental phase of these Etruscan examples (from the 7th century BCE), this must simply be due to coincidence and a natural development from home to tomb.[788] Again, skulls are a common focal point of this burial type with occasional signs of excarnation.[789] One such burial is that of Monte D'Accoddi where a boy's skull was placed in a vessel and buried in a large enigmatic pyramidal structure, likened to a ziggurat. Built in the 3rd millennium BCE, but showing a long period of use, the burial of the youth was most likely after the abandonment of the monument in the Early Bronze Age, while ritual engagement with the altar on top occurred up to the Early Iron Age.[790]

The end of the Early Bronze Age saw the rise in megalithic construction, starting with gallery graves and enormous dolmenic structures such as Sa Coveccada (Mores) and smaller tombs at Bopitos (Laerru). Many of these dolmen-type structures make use of the natural form of rocks to save on reshaping or moving stones.[791] There are over 200 dolmens known in Sardinia, with current studies centred on their relationship to other monuments and their role in society.[792] Some of these tombs also incorporated pre-existing standing stones, including Murisiddi (Isili), which were deliberately hacked up and used where needed.[793] Blake suggests that this is evidence of a social shift and even

[786] Dyson and Rowland (2007), 38; Webster (2015), 22.
[787] Hayden (2001), 115; Dyson and Rowland (2007), 38.
[788] Izzet (2007), 89.
[789] Webster (2015), 22.
[790] Melis (2011); Dyson and Rowland (2007), 41-42; Webster (2015), 27.
[791] Hoskin (2001), 182; Webster (2015), 28-30;
[792] See for instance Cicilloni and Cabras (2015) on the landscape analysis of these tombs.
[793] Webster (2015), 28-30;

a crisis of identity with a renegotiation of practices and traditions in light of the early stages of the development of the Nuragic culture.[794] This particular culture reached its peak between the 18th and 13th centuries BCE, during which time 7 000 to 8 000 nuraghi (sing. nuraghe) were constructed across the island (Fig.4.6). These were enormous, round, megalithic towers with round chambers and stairway access to second floors which developed from early single structures (Nuraghe Su Nuraxi, Barumini) to veritable complexes (Nuraghe Arrubiu, Orroli) by the end of the 2nd millennium BCE. Although linked primarily to domestic functions, their size and building materials certainly suggest a defensive role as the society experienced increased stratification.[795] This period also saw the reuse of the pre-existing *domus de janas*, which at times would even be enlarged and augmented with facades to suit their new occupants. In addition, the burial traditions remained the same into the Middle Bronze Age showing at least sacro-ritual continuity and perhaps conservatism in the face of wider social shift.[796] The destruction of menhirs, the reuse of the hypogea, and the construction of tower-like dwellings, certainly points to a significant change in the social cohesion of the island. While communal practices continued in the burial tradition, these may now have been limited to single communities with an increase in intra-societal competition and desire to create clear divisions.

Funerary structures developed further from the dolmen to the gallery grave, and eventually the creation of *tombe di giganti* or giants' tombs at the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 1st millennium BCE, of which about 800 remain (Fig.4.7). A long, narrow rectangular chamber lay at the core of these structures with the opening surmounted by a carved stele. The entrance was further enhanced by a curving facade extending outward in an arc creating a forecourt. Examples include Selene (Lanusei), Is

[794] Blake (1999), 46.
[795] These towers were typically 12 m in diameter and 15 m high, Blake (1998), 59, 61; Blake (2001), 146; Webster (2015), 40, 46, 82. While these structures bear a passing resemblance to the Scottish broch tradition, as Curle points out in as early as the 1920s, this is simply due to their coincidental external construction, (1927), 295.
[796] Webster (2015), 69.

Concias (Quartucciu), and the well-preserved facade of Thomes near Dorgali.[797] With regards to function, Blake emphasises the importance of this new element to the tomb, arguing that the forecourt was perhaps the most significant part of these structures.[798] This places emphasis on the ritual engagement with the structure and by extension its occupants, with evidence for feasting in these spaces.[799] The link between these unique monuments and the nuraghi appears to be confirmed by the matching distribution patterns of these structures and intervisibility between the tombs' forecourts and the towers, again placing greater weight on this element of the structure; the space of the living emphasised over of the space of the dead.[800] Blake also argues that these tombs, although cited as evidence for elite burial, are the result of communal engagement and so are indicative of a more egalitarian society.[801] She also argues against the claim that they were used as territorial markers as they are not placed in the most visible areas and in fact blend in with their surroundings.[802] Although communal engagement would have been required to construct these tombs and carry out the ritual interaction, this does not necessarily prove that these communities show increased equality. Instead, a small number of elites could hold sway over a community that would be responsible for the building and maintenance of these large structures to show reverence and loyalty to a ruling class. However, if this island too follows the social ebb and flow demonstrated in the preceding Mediterranean cases, this period should mark a growth in social cohesion and lowering of social stratification. Nevertheless, without further insight, either argument could be made. The only community engagement that is certain is the physical acknowledgement of these tombs. They are numerous and visible, but the degree of interaction and impact, be that beneficial or negative, upon

[797] Hoskin (2001), 183-187; Webster (2015), 72.
[798] Blake (2002), 123.
[799] Blake (2001), 147.
[800] Webster (2015), 75; Blake (2002), 123-124. The finds in the forecourts often outshine those within the burial chamber, evidencing a greater interaction and importance placed on these external spaces, Blake (2002), 124.
[801] Blake (2002), 121-122.
[802] Blake (2002), 122.

the non-elite members of these communities must remain speculative in light of the current evidence.

The Late Bronze Age (1200 – 900 BCE) saw further development of nuraghi complexes, showing a shift in social dynamics, but also a continuation of the burial traditions, including collective inhumation and use of pre-existing tombs. The lower number of tombs in comparison to the estimated population may show that these burials were now limited to elites which would support the claim that this period saw increased social stratification.[803] The greatest shift, though, occurred in the Iron Age (900 – 700 BCE) and the period of foreign influence including Cypriot, Greek, Phoenician, and Villanovan-Etruscan contact.[804]

Unique architecture, however, was not limited to funerary structures. Between 1600 and 1200 BCE, Sardinia saw a rise in aridity which may have led to the development of a new water-based cult and a new form of construction. There are numerous water temples, including Su Tempiesu (Orune) and Sant' Anastasia (Sadara), scattered across the island, consisting of a semi-submerged or underground central corbelled structure descending to a well or spring and a paved forecourt (Fig.4.8).[805] How these spaces were used is uncertain, although there is perhaps evidence for feasting, but they have also been the location of numerous *bronzetti*, small bronze figurines of both offerings and offerants.[806] These sanctuaries and others like them became part of the communal functions of Nuragic society. They appear to have been hubs for ritual, political, and economic practices as they were imbued with a sense of neutrality. This is most relevant in the later periods when increased foreign contact created complex networks where these sanctuaries could act as centralised nodes.[807]

[803] Webster (2015), 82, 128, 130; Broodbank (2015), 475-476.
[804] Webster (2015), 143-144.
[805] Depalmas (2018); Dyson and Rowland (2007), 83-90; Webster (2015), 144, 184.
[806] Depalmas (2018), 7.
[807] Webster (2015), 216-217, 220.

4B.1.4. Malta and Gozo

The study of the ancient Maltese islands has suffered greatly from early and relatively unscientific excavations, leaving many questions still to be answered about the enigmatic communities that inhabited this region.[808] Human occupation in Malta dates back to about 5000 BCE, with numerous phases commencing from this point. The Għar Dalam phase (5000 – 4300 BCE) saw cave homes and burials, the use of which had a long lasting effect on the architectural traditions on the islands.[809] The following two phases, Grey and Red Skorba (4500 – 4100 BCE), have left no detectable human remains so a study of the funerary traditions here is futile.[810] The phases of the 5th to 3rd millennia BCE, Zebbug, Mgarr, Ggantija, Saflieni, and Tarxien, have all been delineated by pottery styles and it is the last three phases that give us the well-known megalithic period of Malta.[811]

In the Zebbug phase (4100 – 3800 BCE) the rock-cut tradition continued, with shaft tombs containing multiple inhumations and space made by the shifting of bones to the chamber edges. Menhirs were often located nearby, sometimes including human features.[812] From the Ggantija phase (3600 – 3200 BCE), there seems to be an increase in social cohesion and wealth, as megalithic structures start to appear on both Malta and Gozo, including the Ggantija Temple (Fig.4.9).[813] Built on massive boulders with large slabs, the temple probably included a wood and thatch roof as the plastered walls are relatively well preserved, implying a protective covering.[814] This construction technique continued through the transitional Saflieni (3300 – 3000 BCE) and later

[808] Malone et al. (1993), 111-112.
[809] Stoddart, et al. (1993), 6-7; Sagona (2015), 24-25; Hoskin (2001), 24.
[810] Sagona (2015), 34, 38.
[811] Sagona (2015), 47.
[812] Apart from facial features, ochre was also used for colouring, Baldacchino and Evan (1954), 13; Examples are seen in Ta' Trapna in central Malta, Xemxija in the North West, as well as on Gozo, Sagona (2015), 49, 54, 64.
[813] Sagona (2015), 59, 61.
[814] Holloway (1991), 13-14.

Tarxien phases (3000 – c. 2200 BCE).[815] Although termed temples, Sagona notes that this is a misleading title for these structures as they may have been used for more quotidian functions as well, such as storage. What is important to note, however, is that although their true function remains unclear, they far surpassed any of the contemporary domestic construction in terms of grandeur.[816] Although the inspiration for these structures and their sudden appearance remains obscure, diffusionist models claiming foreign importation have now been rejected.[817] Simply put, more research is required to answer the question of origin and function. Territorial marking has been suggested, due to their size and visibility, while the ritual nature of the space is certainly evident through the unique shaping and decoration, including the extensive use of ochre.[818] This period too saw the continued elaboration of rock-cut techniques, as apparent at the Ħal Saflieni complex. This carved, tri-chambered, three-layered complex has been linked to funerary traditions, as evidenced by the many thousands of human remains found within, but other ritual functions may also exist. Dream divination, as suggested by the famous sleeping figurines, may have been one function, while the acoustic resonance of the chambers has also led to an interpretation of ritual significance.[819] The shape, complexity, and visual and aural interaction as evidenced by these structures implies intricate associated ritual practices that unfortunately remain hypothetical. What can be assumed is the high degree of social cohesion and communal engagement required to construct and maintain them, implying at least one period of stability on the islands.

[815] Sagona (2015), 64, 67.
[816] Sagona (2015), 74, 76.
[817] Sagona (2015), 76-77.
[818] Grima (2008); Sagona (2015), 83-85, 89. Ochre is not naturally occurring on Malta and probably came from Sicily, further emphasising its importance, Holloway (1991), 17.
[819] Devereaux (2009); Malone et al. (1993), 112; Holloway (1991), 16-17.

4B.1.5. Sicily

The archaeological evidence from Sicily is sometimes considered alongside that of the Maltese islands as these islands show early trade and contact from the Neolithic period, including the shipment of ochre and flint from Sicily to Malta and wool from Malta to Sicily.[820] With regards to funerary remains, Sicily is less monumental than Malta with none of the megalithic 'temple' architecture seen on the smaller islands. Cave tombs, paved areas, and stone-lined pit and shaft graves with evidence for ochre use were present from the Neolithic period. By the Copper Age there appears to be a cultural shift, potentially brought on by increased foreign contact and an emphasis on ancestral lineage. This resulted in more elaborate burials and the introduction of megalithism.[821] There was also a development of rock-cut tombs, ranging from simple single chambers at Ribera to the more complex Calaforno hypogea.[822] By the Early Bronze Age, this tradition advanced further still with cliff-side chambers incorporating elaborate entrances and facades with pilasters such as at Cava Lazzaro and Castelluccio.[823] The Late Bronze and Early Iron Age saw the development of the vast rock-cut necropolis of Pantalica, where thousands of hypogea were cut into the cliff side.[824] However, Sicily does not exhibit any true dolmens relying rather on the indigenous rock-cut technique than megalithic construction.[825] This contrasts from the small island of Pantelleria to the south west which produced the unique sesi (sing. sese) resembling large, rough stone towers. These large communal burials measure between 4 and 20 m in diameter and a conical height up to 3.5 m, resembling artificial hills of rock with multiple entrances leading to chambers within (Fig.4.10).[826] Placed near the relatively insular community of Mursia with its 20 stone huts, these tombs were

[820] Holloway (1991), 10-11, 18.
[821] Leighton (1999), 78-80, 87-91, 93.
[822] Leighton (1999), 93-95.
[823] Holloway (1991), 22; Leighton (1999), 121-125.
[824] Leighton (2011); Broodbank (2015), 474.
[825] Hoskin (2001), 196-200.
[826] Trump (1963); Leighton (1999), 137; Hoskin (2001), 200-202.

constructed in the first half of the second millennium BCE, numbering over 50.[827] This number is significant as the ratio to stone dwellings at Mursia implies burial within the large tombs may not have been limited to the elite but rather open to the wider community.

4B.2. The Mediterranean in the Maghreb

Through this brief summary of the funerary archaeology of the western Mediterranean, what emerges is an image of insular societies developing on a relatively isolated and unique trajectory with only minor early injections of foreign influence. As these communities all relied on increasingly limited resources on their islands, they shared a common shift from early individualism, to egalitarianism and communal hegemony, on to growing competition and social stratification as foreign contact increased. This is supported by the recent work of Kolb who links the low percentage of arable land and subsequent increased competition to the diverse development of monumentality in the Mediterranean.[828] Although articulated in diverse ways, the island communities all appear to follow the same trend of increased monumentality to express power and prestige, presumably limited to the ruling elite from the 9th century BCE onwards. How does this then relate to North Africa? Early and influential arguments, including those of Féraud and Gsell, have centred on the Mediterranean roots of the megalithic tradition in the ancient Maghreb, with dolmens and haouanet frequently linked to these regions.[829] While it could be argued that Mediterranean settlers came to North Africa, without widespread DNA analysis this is difficult to prove. However, while the shape of certain Maghreb tombs suggests links to pre-existing Mediterranean megalithism, it is the unique ritual engagement with these tombs that highlights the difference between the African and Mediterranean funerary practices. There are two

[827] Kolb (2014), 159-160.
[828] Kolb (2014), see in particular pages 169-175.
[829] Féraud (1846); Gsell (1929b); Camps (1961), 15-16, summarizes these early ideas.

recurring factors in Mediterranean funerary practices that demonstrate this difference; the creation of figurines and the importance of internal spaces for ritual engagement.

Figurines

While much has been made of the apparent adoption of Mediterranean funerary architecture influencing the later trends of the ancient Maghreb, this does not necessarily take into consideration any other element of these island structures. One of the most important elements, and one that certainly cannot be ignored when it comes to funerary rites, is the widespread use of figurines in the Mediterranean region. Although the Balearics have not yet yielded any figurines in the relevant funerary context, Iberia, Sardinia, Malta, and Sicily certainly have. During the late 4th and into the 3rd millennium BCE, alongside the rise in complex social dynamics, a large number of idols and figurines were produced in Iberia. Likely linked to a funerary or ritualistic context, they ranged in form from the highly abstract schist plaques and *idolos oculados* (eye-idols), with their schematic human features, to more naturalist, anthropomorphic figurines (Fig.4.11). This shift to increased individualism may indicate a change in the social dynamics to stronger personalities and Scarre suggests they may even represent a specific deceased.[830] The material of some of these figurines, not only bone but imported ivory from Asia or Africa, suggest the prestige that would have been associated not only with their artful creation but also their acquisition.[831] Clearly, these figures had an important part to play in the social negotiation of emerging hierarchies in ancient Iberia.

The figurines of ancient Sardinia too give an insight into the changing social dynamics of this island. Appearing from 4700 BCE, they started as stylized figures emphasising curvaceous bodies and developed into elongated and somewhat triangular models made from stone, marble, clay, and bone. By 3000 BCE these became increasingly

[830] Scarre (2017), 884-891; Lillios (2004), 127, suggests that these schist plaques were used to represent genealogical links.
[831] Altamirano García (2014), 53-55.

abstract plaque figures as seen in one example from Turriga.[832] Their context is predominantly within inhabited space but this later shifts to a funerary setting, which Vella Gregory argues, along with the increase in schematic representation, suggests a growing emphasis on defined lineage and social division based on ancestry.[833] There is a noticeable pause in this tradition, presumably during the period of increased egalitarianism, until the Nuragic period and the creation of hundreds of *bronzetti*. These bronze figurines, with great variety of individualism, are most often linked to a ritual context and range from armed and praising figures to fantastical non-human beings as well as models of boats (Fig.4.12).[834] Coupled with the widespread megalithic construction of this period, these figurines played an important role in the social cohesion and hierarchy of Nuragic Sardinia with a link to ritualistic performance.[835] The local production of terracotta figurines even continued into the Punic period at sites such as Neapolis and Tharros and found in ritual contexts that fit both Sardinian and Punic traditions.[836] This only serves to highlight the importance of these figurines as the custom was little affected by the incoming foreign settlers.

Found in funerary contexts, the limestone and clay figurines of Malta are often termed mother goddesses and are associated with fertility and childbirth. The best known of these are the Sleeping Lady from Ħal Saflieni and the Venus of Malta from Ħaġar Qim, the former a plump woman reclining on her right side and the latter standing with her left arm across her protruding stomach (Fig.4.13).[837] Much larger statues also exist including the 3 m tall Tarxien Woman as well as miniature models of temples and other structures.[838] Vella Gregory claims that these figures and models would have been a

[832] Vella Gregory (2017), 800-805.
[833] Vella Gregory (2017), 806.
[834] Ialongo (2013), 195; Vella Gregory (2017), 808-809.
[835] Vella Gregory (2017), 817; Ialongo (2013), 202-203.
[836] Van Dommelen (2002), 134.
[837] Rich (2008), 260; Vella Gregory and Cilia (2005), 48-51, 102-103.
[838] There are about 160 figurines linked to the human body from the Maltese islands, Vella Gregory (2016), 333-336.

very important element to the immersive atmosphere of the ritual engagement with the monumental spaces.[839] Coupled with the sensorial experiences facilitated by the design of the Maltese structures described above, this is certainly likely. Sicily too provides very early Palaeolithic evidence of the human form created in sandstone as well as Neolithic examples of figurines, which appear even in Early Bronze Age contexts, emphasising the continued importance of such items.[840]

It becomes clear that figurines and the three-dimensional representation of the human form was a widely incorporated element in the ritual and funerary engagement of these regions of the Mediterranean with their tombs. The hundreds of figurines and models to come from these islands emphasises a defining and essential element of socio-ritual interaction within these communities. Used as a means of symbolic communication of real-world dynamics and conditions, these figurines played a central role in the negotiation of socio-political change. Therefore, one might expect that if the settlers of these cultures were to recreate their funerary world in another land, these figurines would accompany this tradition. If the Mediterranean island megalithic tradition were transposed, verbatim as it were, into the Maghreb, there would certainly be evidence for this essential socio-ritual element that was linked to these practices. This, however, does not seem to the case.

The Middle Holocene (7000 – 4000 BCE) of northern Africa offers only a few dozen figurine-like objects, making the creation of figurines a very marginal cultural practice in this region. In addition, evidence for specifically anthropomorphic figurines in the Sahara and North Africa is very rare. The vast majority of these small objects, made of stone or clay, depict animals such as dogs, antelope, and cattle.[841] The emphasis on zoomorphic depictions is hardly surprising considering the earliest evidence for ritual

[839] Vella Gregory (2016), 340-342.
[840] Holloway (1991), 5, 9-10; Leighton (1999), 67, 71.
[841] Barich (2017), 105, 110-115. Camps-Fabrer lists a few early and highly stylised carved figures, both zoomorphic and anthropomorphic. These are often from localised sites and do not appear to be widespread such as the 46 loosely humanoid figurines from a cave in Achakar, (1966), 239-293, 401-410.

burial is associated with the cattle cult and the important role livestock played in the lives of Saharan pastoralists.[842] Even in Camps' work on the funerary structures and rites of the ancient Imazighen, there is no mention of figurines in grave good assemblages.[843] The human figure was certainly represented across this region in the form of thousands of rock art creations, but this did not translate into a figurine tradition to the extent that it is seen in the Mediterranean.[844] The fact that African ivory was used to make Iberian eye-idols and that stone and clay were used for this rare tradition in North Africa implies that a lack of natural resources was not the reason for low figurine numbers. Figurines therefore did not play a role in the socio-ritual negotiation and communication within ancient Amazigh communities. This was instead articulated through the creation, distribution, and interaction with their tombs.

Internal spaces

A further repeated practice on the Mediterranean islands is the emphasis placed on the internal spaces of the tombs. Due the very nature of this inner-chamber interaction, many of these structures have been termed temples, notably the Maltese examples. Robin highlights just how important these spaces were in the Sardinian *domus de janas*, with painting and decorative elements used to delineate not only specific spaces but also the immersive experience of visitors.[845] Through a precise and deliberate arrangement, these designs go beyond simple decoration and instead create liminal areas and designated spaces within the tombs. The use of painting and incising, therefore, becomes integral to these tombs and not simply elective decoration and, as Robin argues, expands their use beyond disposal of the dead, creating dynamic ritual environments.[846] Similar practices are seen in the Maltese structures, where Devereux

[842] See Chapter 3 for a more in depth discussion of this.
[843] Camps discusses the grave goods in section two of his 1961 work.
[844] For the volume and scope of the North African rock art tradition see the British Museum's African Rock Art Image Project (no date).
[845] See Robin (2016) for a detailed analysis of this method.
[846] Robin (2016), 462.

associates the painted red ochre ceiling spirals with the "acoustic notation" created by the so-called 'speaking hole' in the Oracle Room at Ħal Saflieni.[847] While ceilings and paintings have not survived on the Balearics, the taulas were arguably used to support the roof of an enclosed space, while the chambers of the naves tombs were certainly large enough to accommodate ritual practices. The deliberate augmentation of caves to increase space for interaction in Iberia too shows the internal emphasis for funerary rites.[848] Importance therefore is placed on the ability to perform ritualised tasks and interactions within the tomb itself, a practice largely shared by the ancient Mediterranean communities. This emphasis, however, is noticeably lacking in the funerary architecture of the ancient Maghreb.

As noted in Chapter 3 Section C, the burial chambers in the megalithic tombs in the Maghreb are remarkably cramped if they are accessible at all after interment. The vast majority are buried beneath cairns and if they are reopened for subsequent inhumations, the resulting disturbance is highly visible.[849] At only a few feet across, the chambers created within the relatively open dolmens and gallery tombs too are clearly only meant for the placement of the interred, perhaps with a limited procession, but no other interaction. This practice certainly continues into the Hellenistic period with the small chamber dimensions of the monumental tumuli and tower tombs only further emphasised by the comparatively large superstructures that house them. Even the narrow passageways leading to the chambers within the Medracen and Kbor er Roumia were arguably not meant for sustained ritual performances on any scale and are limited to the conveying of the deceased to their final resting place. The body itself was also limited in size as evidenced by various practices of decarnation, binding, and cremation that would reduce the dimensions of the body. The emphasis then is placed not on the inside of the tombs but rather the outside and it is in external spaces that

[847] Devereux (2009).
[848] Gonzalo (1997), 92.
[849] For examples see Souk el Gour, Camps (1960), 86-87; Bou Nouara, Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 41-45.

the ritual performances would have occurred.[850] The only comparative Mediterranean example is that of the *tombe di giganti* with their open forecourts able to facilitate ritual engagement. However, this is not a repeated trend and the majority of interaction on the Mediterranean islands remains within the structures themselves. As stated with the figurines, if Mediterranean settlers were in fact creating tombs in the Maghreb which were rooted in their own traditions and ritual practices, this element of internal tomb engagement would certainly be expected. As seen in Chapter 3 of this study, the ritual practices associated with burial traditions are as important as the burials themselves, with meaning being lost if the rite were to change or not be included. If these tombs were being created in North Africa by Mediterranean communities or local communities heavily influenced by the Mediterranean, this absence of some of the most important ritual behaviour would signify a complete and dramatic break from tradition; the likes of which would normally be associated with a society in crisis. This level of discontinuity in funerary practices is not evident on the islands themselves even when faced by the highest level of foreign incursion during the expansion of the Phoenician civilization. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that the funerary traditions of North Africa relied this heavily on those of the Mediterranean islands.

This is certainly not to say that there were no foreign influences on the development of megalithism in the ancient Maghreb; this region did not develop in a vacuum. Rather, it is important to understand the extent to which the foreign contact and interaction in the Mediterranean and further afield affected the Amazigh communities, especially with regards to how they chose to articulate their culture in the funerary realm. It is unwise to discredit any and all Mediterranean influence, but equally unwise to place too great an emphasis on this regions' impact on the ancient Maghreb. As shown in Chapter 3, there was a long, well-established history of megalithic practices in wider northern Africa, which followed ancient traditions quite separated from the

[850] For a complete discussion of this ritual engagement see Chapter 3 Section C.

Mediterranean. To pick and choose which Mediterranean or northern influences are visible in the ancient Maghreb, be it the dolmen lintel form, the application of ochre, or the very use of megalithic architecture, is to ignore all those elements that are not reflected in the Maghreb. Influences and their impact are complex, and need to be understood within a wider social context and not simply limited to the 'final product' exhibited in archaeological remains. This developed into a multi-origin global culture, funerary megalithism, with which numerous societies from diverse backgrounds were able to engage and transform into their own forms of expression in accordance with their own local conditions. As shown in Chapter 1, early trade and contact was evident across the Mediterranean, with coastal communities coming into contact across this sea and its various ports and settlements. It could therefore be suggested that Imazighen who were part of this nascent economic practice were introduced to various forms of megalithic expression, combining this with their own already well-established construction techniques. It could equally be argued that there are a finite number of ways in which stone can be reliably stacked in order to create a long lasting and repeatable structure in a reality without sophisticated mechanisms of construction.

Contact, exchange, and transmission were certainly present and highly prevalent in the ancient world leading to expansion, change, and the creation of new inter-regional developments. It is for this reason that globalization theory offers the most appropriate framework within which to analyse these developments. As seen in Section A of this chapter, this approach takes into consideration the dynamic and complex multi-origin aspects of networks of contact and exchange, without suggesting any form of cultural dominance or hierarchy. This last factor is a very important element as until now the analysis of indigenous North African funerary practices has been somewhat preoccupied with cultural hierarchy, even if unintentional. This is simply the result of the theoretical frameworks applied up to this point, regardless of the intentions of those applying them. While globalization theory allows for a more balanced insight and

interpretation, this in itself is not an end result. Rather, globalization is a process with which communities can engage. What remains now is to understand the impact the process of globalization had on the ancient Maghreb. While this can be seen in the archaeological remains, what was the effect on the communities themselves and the development of their identity? It is insufficient to simply state that they were continuing their practices with the application of a seemingly foreign gloss as this only speaks to the projected, outward expression without taking into consideration the deliberate inclusion of foreign influences within the established customs. The implications of this can now be taken further still by discussing the results of what all this means for the indigenous Amazigh communities of the ancient Maghreb. The next chapter will look at the results of globalization and its implications for the development of indigenous self- and social identity in the ancient Maghreb. One of the significant results of globalization is creolization, which will form the basis of this analysis, before focus turns to the implications for identity development.

Chapter 5: Change and Identity in the Ancient Maghreb: some conclusions

In 1961, Camps made a pithy statement that neatly sums up the way Maghrebi society and its archaeological remains have been approached and interpreted ever since. He claimed that North Africa, "neither completely African nor entirely Mediterranean… has oscillated down through the centuries in search of its destiny".[851] While this certainly generates a romantic image of a wandering and rootless nomadic civilization, it somewhat undermines any agency and deliberate actions that have arisen from this society. Further to this, Gsells' often quoted coat analogy, whereby the traditional Amazigh articulations of funerary practices are placed beneath a layer of Classical influences, also obscures the nuances of this period, implying an unsophisticated adoption of foreign elements with little thought for their meaning.[852] When approaching the Maghreb's Hellenistic period funerary monuments, it is not a question of *if* they have been influenced by foreign contact but rather how, why, and to what end. While both Camps and Gsell acknowledge that African and Mediterranean influences are simultaneously represented in the Maghreb, the implications of this are not explored to their full extent and at times they suggest that these two origins can be easily and neatly separated from each other with little effect to the overall impression.

It has been shown throughout this study that concentrating solely on the construction of these monuments has led to some unsatisfactory interpretations. These interpretations at times undermine the strength of indigenous traditions, which were still evident throughout the later periods of increased foreign contact, as well as the active local engagement with incoming cultural traits. This is particularly relevant in light of the evidence given in Chapter 4 Section B on the lack of figurines and emphasis on internal spaces in North Africa compared to the Mediterranean islands where these are very important elements in the funerary and ritual tradition. There appears to be

[851] Camps (1961), 571, translated from the French. See Raven (1993), 31 for a fairly recent echoing of this sentiment.
[852] Gsell (1929b), 261.

an underlying assumption that as soon as this foreign contact increased, the local inhabitants of the ancient Maghreb were propelled into a wholly alien world of elite display and expression in which they scrambled and jostled to be visible and recognisable.[853] The use of terms like 'imitation' and 'emulation' to describe the motivation behind some of the innovations that apparently resulted from this interaction imply a naiveté on the part of the indigenous kingdoms.[854] These analyses and interpretations, while highly innovative and informative at the time, focus primarily on the material culture of the ancient Imazighen during the Hellenistic period as the end result of increased foreign contact. However, as Barrett states, "[m]aterial culture does not so much reflect social conditions as participate in the structuring and transformation of those conditions".[855] The process that resulted in the Hellenistic period Maghrebi structures had not come to an end at this point. These structures are therefore a physical representation of the ongoing negotiation of elite power within the indigenous kingdoms as well as the development of an evolving identity that permeated the wider community. Discussing British Neolithic burials, Kinnes notes how these structures are "the physical result of motives and stimuli of which no account survives, and which were tempered by an interplay of transient social and environmental influences".[856] It is these unseen and unrecorded influences that are important elements of the North African structures. As their creators do not explicitly explain them, the Hellenistic period tombs have, to an extent, been taken at face value, with less attention paid to their deeper and more ancient roots. By analysing the construction, socio-cultural setting, and ritual associations of these Hellenistic structures as well as the wider and older funerary traditions of northern Africa, a far deeper understanding of not only the monuments but also the culture(s) that created

[853] See for instance Brett and Fentress (1997), 34; Fentress (2006), 11.
[854] The prevailing interpretations of the Hellenistic period monuments and their implications are discussed more fully in Chapter 2 Section B.
[855] Barrett (1990), 179.
[856] Kinnes (1975), 27.

and used them can be gained. This innovation and creativity is an important element to this analysis since this process did not occur in a vacuum but through the continuous engagement of a number of societies and cultures with diverse influences. While Chapter 4 explored the way in which cultural contact and exchange can be *identified* in an ancient setting through the approach of globalization theory, this current chapter will discuss how this contact and exchange *affected* the ancient Maghreb. While globalization offers a framework within which to understand the processes of contact and change, this approach is not a final product. Instead, a number of outcomes of this process can occur. A particular result and one that holds the most appropriate application for the ancient Maghreb is that of creolization. The following discussion will evaluate how the process of creolization can be used to comprehend the complex context of the later first-millennium BCE Maghreb before turning to the impact that this had on the development of self- and social identity within the indigenous communities. Some conclusions and closing remarks with regards to the impact and future of this study will also be given, offering a point of departure for further research.

5.1. Creolization in the ancient Maghreb

There are a number of definitions for creolization, dependent on where and to which cultures this approach has been applied. The strictest definition is rooted in the development of creole languages stemming from the interaction between indigenous and European communities, often in the New World.[857] However, recurring key terms associated with *cultural* creolization are adjustment, selection, interaction, exchange, cultural constructs, and creativity.[858] The active and pragmatic nature of these terms is evident, with clear engagement with this process required in order for it to successfully occur. Creolization, therefore, is the result of a selective and active interaction between indigenous and foreign influences and a creative adaptation to the subsequent shift in

[857] Cambridge Dictionary (website).
[858] See Cusick (2000), 46-47; Ferguson (1992), xli; Lightfoot and Martínez (1995), 474; Stewart (2007), 18.

the cultural status quo for all parties. Creolization is often used interchangeably with hybridization, with the two terms implying the same process of cultural interaction, engagement, and change. However, Cohen and Harvey both note how hybridization originated from biological processes, while creolization is inherently linked to cultural engagement and change.[859] This link to biology is problematic in an African context. The preoccupation in the earliest publications dedicated to the indigenous inhabitants of the ancient Maghreb, were often centred on the possible origins of the indigenous peoples of North Africa. This could very well have been fuelled by the 19th and early 20th century fascination with 'race' classification and its subsequent study of skeletal remains, a practice that goes as far back as the 17th century.[860] This can be seen in the way Julien tries to define the different "types" of Imazighen based on facial features in an attempt to perhaps answer "[l]e problème ethnique".[861] This is of course a highly problematic approach, therefore, any connotation of biology held by hybridization, although certainly not malevolent in intent, needs to be avoided for the sake of sensitivity in an already fraught scholarly atmosphere. It is for this reason, therefore, that the term creolization will be used throughout this thesis. Silliman notes a few shortcomings of this theoretical approach, including the fact that it is often applied solely to the colonized, with the colonizer's influences considered the main contributing factor.[862] However, it is important to bear in mind that these influences and resulting developments should not be seen as an affliction under which the pre-existing communities need to project their own sense of self. Self-identity is not lost through foreign influences; it is added to and becomes multi-layered, as demonstrated by communities in the ancient Maghreb.[863] This is similar to the emphasis on enculturation, as opposed to acculturation, where the analysis of the active process of

[859] Cohen (2007), 371, note 3; Tomlinson (1999), 142-144;. See also Stewart (2011), 50.
[860] Fforde (2013), 709 – 710.
[861] Julien (1931), 46 – 52.
[862] Silliman (2015), 288.
[863] See also Hodos (2010a), 98 for a similar defence of globalization.

cultural engagement are often more important than the perceived final results of cultural contact.[864] It is within this continuous engagement that the active role of the indigenous communities can be seen, as well as the degree to which local conditions and experiences are projected and maintained while negotiating incoming influences.

Stewart argues that while the current use of these theories, hybridity and creolization, requires the belief in pre-existing 'pure' cultures before the arrival of foreign influences, traditions need not be strictly 'pure' and free of external influence but rather simply distinct enough from each other, resulting in the creation of something relatively new.[865] This is similar to Silliman's assertion that this process is "an active social and cultural strategy", reflecting an ongoing development as opposed to a single event.[866] As seen in Chapter 4, the two phases of globalization experienced in the ancient Maghreb show active engagement with incoming influences by the local communities, resulting in variation coming to the fore in certain cases.[867] New customs were balanced by old traditions, with changing articulation and expression and the retention of older ritual behaviour over an extended period of time. In these cases, the resultant projections are still uniquely Maghrebi, with clear links and associations with the pre-existing cultural environment. Creolization as a result of these phases of globalization is certainly an important perspective for the analysis of this process and its cultural engagement, especially with regards to the 4th century BCE onwards.

While often used in the context of New World history, creolization has been successfully applied in the study of the Roman world. This application to the Roman period will be used as a comparison for the ancient Maghreb, as the results of creolization are not limited to the indigenous inhabitants of North Africa and certainly not to the second half of the first millennium BCE. Webster has been a strong

[864] See Chapter 4 (4A.1.1) for this discussion.
[865] Stewart (2007), 3; (2011), 52-53. See also Glissant (1989), 140.
[866] Silliman (2015), 288.
[867] See the discussion of heterogeneity in Chapter 4.

proponent for this theory's application to the engagement between indigenous populations and Roman newcomers in Britain. In her argument against the traditional approach of Romanization in occupied regions of the empire, Webster posits that the increase in Roman contact in other lands and the result of this should be viewed as creolization.[868] Using Romano-Celtic religion as a case study, Webster notes how nativist theorizers saw the syncretic development of certain deities as a "Roman veneer overlying an unsullied Celtic religion".[869] This is remarkably similar to Gsell's claim that the Medracen and Kbor er Roumia are "indigenous tombs wrapped in foreign cloaks".[870] In both of these statements it is assumed that there is a clear distinction between what can be considered indigenous and foreign, and that this division is both quantifiable and mutually exclusive. While change, novelty, and influence is evident, this distinction implies that local engagement with incoming influences was limited to simply applying unaltered foreign elements onto pre-existing traditions, without interpretation and/or adaptation. Webster adds that this perspective of overlaying one culture upon another fails to acknowledge the extent to which non-indigenous influences would have been engaged with and interpreted, highlighting again the cultural negotiation that is required for these processes to be effective.[871] Like Cohen's "cross-fertilization", this outcome of cultural engagement is not clearly divisible, with influences impacting on all cultures involved, negating any dominance of one over another.[872] As discussed in the previous chapter, new influences are only successful if they offer something productive or developmental, such as convenience through currency or language, or are recognizable and similar to the pre-existing customs and practices, as seen in the Hellenistic period tower tombs. This results in the creation of a cultural expression that has taken on a new form in order to engage with a relatively

[868] Webster (2001), 217-220.
[869] Webster (2001), 219.
[870] Gsell (1929b), 262. Translated from French. He reiterates this claim later in this work, (1929b), 283.
[871] Webster (2001), 219.
[872] Cohen (2007), 369.

new audience, but still stems from and is recognisable as part of older, pre-existing traditions. Ferguson merges this with the linguistic aspects of creoles, comparing the process of cultural creolization to a language, with material articulation forming a lexicon which is part of a cultural grammar.[873] In this sense, while the vocabulary (artefacts) of a culture can be increased, the grammar (underlying traditions and practices) essentially stays the same and makes sense of both pre-existing and incoming artefacts. Instead of a separate foreign layer, these influences are inextricably part of the new cultural articulation, which broadens and facilitates a wider comprehension in an increasingly cosmopolitan society, countering the veneer and coat analogies above. As seen in Chapter 4 and the process of globalization, this comprehension occurred along a complex network that could encompass a number of characteristics that all combined to form a dynamic and new cultural expression, including human megalithic burial from the 4th to 3rd millennium BCE onwards, and the evolution of megalithic construction from the 4th century BCE. While globalization facilitates the context and setting of contact and exchange, creolization explains the outcomes of this.

5.1.1. Change and continuity

Looking forward, it is possible to see how this creolization process was not limited to a set time period or finite reality. By looking at examples of how this change manifested beyond the period under review, the dynamic and ever-evolving cultural reality of the ancient Maghreb becomes apparent, not only for the indigenous communities but for the incoming settlers as well. This cultural negotiation certainly results in a degree of development and change and, as borders are crossed and new contacts made, this change physically manifests itself in outward articulation, such as language, dress, and architecture, showing cosmopolitan multiculturalism. However, this is not at the expense of established identities. Instead there is an active and pragmatic

[873] Ferguson (1992), xlii.

incorporation of new and convenient socio-economic systems into the status quo, in order to facilitate trade through a shared language and currency.[874] This multiculturalism need not be a jarring process, as in the ancient Maghreb the constant movement and meeting of people due to pastoral practices meant this level of interaction was present from a very early stage, with the introduction of other cultures later in the 1st millennium BCE fitting into the already well-established trend. As previously discussed, the gradual introduction of settlers into various parts of the Maghreb from an early date would have resulted in the growing awareness of other cultures and traditions. These peoples would have inevitably become part of the community and its work force with new skills and techniques being passed on to the local production as seen in the architecture of the Hellenistic period. To draw a clear division between 'new' and 'old' is not always possible in a land of migration and integration; instead, this interaction forms part of the social dynamics of the region. What is also important to note is that creolization in the ancient Maghreb did not end in the Hellenistic period, but was an ongoing process, evident in the period of Roman occupation with the continuation of local names, scripts, and religion.[875] The 4th century BCE and its phase of globalization only saw the catalyst for creolization, and not its culmination. The very nature of creolization is one of ongoing development and change, ever-adapting to the complexities and socio-political dynamics of North Africa. Apart from the Hellenistic period monumental architecture, two other examples can be used to illustrate the dynamic creolization process in the Maghreb: the haouanet tombs of the later first millennium BCE, and the Roman period mausolea of the early first millennium CE. Through these examples it is possible to see how creolization was not limited to the elite or the indigenous population of the ancient Maghreb, but was

[874] Castles (2002), 1161. See the discussion of economic benefit through standardization in Chapter 4.
[875] See for example *CIL* VIII 16159 where African names are used alongside Roman ones, and *CIL* VIII 22729 in which tribal affiliations (Cinithians) are still clearly declared, Brett and Fentress (1997), 50-51; see also the continued veneration of local gods in the 2nd century CE Latin Hassawana inscription (Chapter 3 Section A), *CIL* VIII, 20, 627, Shaw (1981), 51-52; Fentress (2007) 125-126.

pervasive throughout this region and its diverse communities, effectively countering Silliman's above caution of perceived cultural dominance. The examples below are offered here somewhat like a coda, showing the continuity of the creolizing process, which did not end with first millennium BCE, but proceeded to impact on the cultural reality of the ancient Maghreb well beyond this period.

Haouanet

The rock-cut haouanet (sing. hanout) offer a good example of the consequences of local engagement with foreign influences.[876] These chamber tombs are spread predominantly from the north eastern coast of Tunisia to the Constantine area of Algeria, with a few necropoleis in northern central Algeria and north western Morocco.[877] The origin of these tombs is ambiguous, with links to Sicily and Sardinia, as well as Punic and African roots all being suggested.[878] Their location within the traditionally Punic area of the Maghreb seems to show a geographic link, while the inclusion of benches, niches, and internal painted decoration too suggest Punic influences.[879] The decoration within these tombs is striking, with many of the ochre paintings surviving today (Fig.3.1). One such painted decoration is the mausoleum, a simplified tower tomb design, painted on the walls of a number of haouanet and linked to the Punic funerary world.[880] Other painted motifs include geometric, domestic, and hunting scenes of diverse origins, including Amazigh, Punic, Greek, and Egyptian roots, showing a complex cultural negotiation expressed through the autochthonous painting tradition.[881] The rock-cut tradition itself is also a long-standing Maghrebi practice, with rock-cut domestic dwellings created by indigenous inhabitants, from ancient times into

[876] See the introduction of Chapter 3 for details of these tombs.
[877] Camps (1961), 96-97, Fig.14; Ghaki (1999), 140. See the introduction to Chapter 3 for a discussion of this tomb type.
[878] Camps (1961), 105-110; Ghaki (1999), 141-143.
[879] Ghaki (1999), 142-143; Longerstay (1993), 19.
[880] See Longerstay (1999) for a detailed analysis of this decorative element; Ghaki (1999), 201-202.
[881] Ghaki (1999), 166-167. Ghaki notes that painting in Punic tombs is rare and therefore an indigenous practice (1999), 177-178, 181.

the modern era.[882] The culmination of centuries of contact and exchange through the North African and Mediterranean globalized networks resulted in the uniquely Maghrebi haouanet. The various cultural references in these tombs reflect the growing cosmopolitanism during this period of increased globalization, and satisfy the cultural expectations of a diverse population. To seek a specific origin and to pull apart the complex integration of influences seen in these tombs is to ignore the clear process of creolization that is evident.

Roman mausolea

A further example of this integration of diverse influences is seen in the later adaptation of the tower tomb tradition. Imperial Roman examples of these structures were created based on the pre-existing African tombs, and were used to commemorate elite Roman burials as seen at Uzali Sar, Henchir Djaouf, and Henchir Haouam. Here again, the articulation of the funerary tradition remains the same, with the basic tower structure recalling the indigenous tombs which were used to communicate very specific messages.[883] As discussed in Chapter 3, these messages were not only linked to funerary rites, but could also indicate territorial control and elite prestige. While these later tombs were linked to Roman individuals, the continuation of the indigenous form of construction is still clearly evident and was used as an effective and established means of communication with a diverse audience. Similar to the example of the haouanet, these Imperial Roman mausolea are the culmination of centuries of engagement, and express the interests and diversity of a uniquely creolized North African society.

As shown in these two brief examples, creolization is not dependent on a single superior culture influencing another. Rather, it generates something new while

[882] Herodotus links this type of dwelling to the Troglodytes (4.183), while numerous modern examples are found in the Medenine, Tataouine, and Gabes regions of eastern Tunisia and the Nalut and Al Jabal al Gharbi regions of western Libya, see Cowper (1896); Norris (1957); Golany (1988).
[883] Quinn (2003), 20-21.

retaining characteristics of that which has come before. These characteristics in turn can be from multiple origins. Distinction is not made between the cultural influences; focus is rather placed on what this interaction led to. These tomb types would not have existed without the process of cultural contact and negotiation and are the unique product of a highly diverse and dynamic society. While it is important to understand the way in which a cultural practice is articulated and the rituals that may inform it, it is equally important to establish how this reflects the underlying identity associated with it. The fact that the most important archaeological remains showing this negotiation between incoming and indigenous articulation are funerary in nature and function, is an integral factor in understanding the motivations and intentions of these monuments. Funerary practices and what they represent are intricately linked to the expression of social identity, having been informed not only by the circumstances of the deceased but also the established communal dynamics in which they lived and died.[884] Therefore, any continuity and change in the representation of these burials is a reflection of the social identities of the groups that created them. This is not to say that burials mirror the exact characteristics of a society, rather it shows the external projections desired by communities, representing only the most sought-after characteristics.[885] This is of course still informative, and understanding the development and impact on this identity is very important for understanding any cultural expression dependent on it. Turning to the ways in which identity can develop, it will be possible to analyse the indigenous responses to foreign contact and change in the ancient Maghreb, in not only their archaeology but also their sense of self.

5.2. Identity development

The concept of identity and how this can be determined within a society is complex. A specific identity is often easiest to define in opposition, that is, by what it is not, as

[884] Joyce (2001), 12.
[885] See O'Shea's table on mortuary variability (Table 3).

much as it is defined by that which a community or individual holds dear.[886] While this may offer a 'narrowing down' in defining the identity of a specific community, it is still inconclusive. As this current study is focussed on the funerary practices of the ancient Maghreb it is best to think of identity as shared cultural traits and customs that are unique to and deliberately representative of the indigenous population. This uniqueness is not limited to those elements that are not evident in other cultures, such as megalithic funerary architecture which is common across many cultures, but how they are interpreted, incorporated, and engaged with. Determining what these traits and customs are is dependent on their prominence, maintenance, and repetition which create associations with a specific group. Baitinger and Hodos speak of "identity markers", found in such social constructs as language, script, religion, art, and architecture, which can be used to define specific communities. Of course, the use of material culture in determining identity markers is made more complex by the uneven continuation of local traditions and adoption of influences across a single society.[887] It is therefore important to consider evidence outwith this physical context, as achieved in the analysis of socio-ritual engagement and human experience in Chapter 3. These identity markers in the ancient Maghreb are arguably the strong sense of hierarchy and affiliation, territorial marking through structural and symbolic communication, the ritual associations seen in location, orientation, and placement, and the shared representation and projection of these concepts through the unique and varied tomb constructions. The strength of this identity is also evident in the way in which these traits and customs continued even when faced with the influx of diverse populations and cultures. This identity is certainly not mutually exclusive, and through the process of globalization, the Maghreb became increasingly creolized, engaging with and incorporating these new customs and markers. This led to change and transformation within Maghrebi society, but instead of obscurity at the cost of their own identity

[886] Hodos (2010a), 82-83.
[887] Baitinger and Hodos (2016), 20, 25.

markers, this was accomplished in a complimentary manner, creating a new form of cultural expression without erasing the original form.

As discussed in Chapter 4, there were two periods of noticeable change in funerary and ritual traditions in ancient North Africa: the 4th millennium BCE, with the increased desertification of the Sahara, and the 4th century BCE, with the increase in foreign contact. In both cases, emphasis on the burial of the deceased became an important outlet for self- and social expression especially with regards to the representation of territorial presence and hierarchy in a mobile population. The earlier period saw the rise of migrating communities, placing pressure on dwindling natural resources. A comparable territorial awareness on Mediterranean islands for instance led to an emphasis on the visible expression of land tenure through megalithic architecture, linking certain people to certain areas.[888] In the case of North Africa, the introduction of the megalithic funerary tradition stemming from the cattle cult became a suitable format through which this territorial awareness could be represented as it was part of the newly-formed global culture and was widely comprehended both by those with an established presence and those now migrating to this region. The later period of change in the first millennium BCE developed from this well-established base and widely-comprehended system, retaining the accepted and expected format of communication through megalithic construction. This period also saw the re-emphasis and re-embedding of local traditions, a common characteristic of globalization.[889] This is not a particularly remarkable observation as the development and expression of identity is frequently motivated by external pressures that are perceived as a threat to the status quo, formalised in the concept of primordialist identity theory.[890] While this practice of re-embedding certainly comes to the fore in the development of the

[888] See Chapter 4 Section B for the Mediterranean megalithic tradition and social representation.
[889] Quinn (2003), 19 for instance draws attention to this; see also Jennings (2017), 15, and the discussion in Chapter 4 Section A; Baitinger and Hodos (2016), 15.
[890] See for instance Isaacs (1989), in particularly 35-37 and Chapter 3; Keyes (1976). See also Appadurai (1996), 139-149 for the problems of this theory.

Hellenistic period monumental structures, it does not explain why the elites chose two distinct forms of funerary commemoration: tumulus and tower tomb. This is where primordialism falls short and, as Bentley notes, does not explain why certain traits are chosen for re-emphasis and others are not. To counter this, he suggests the application of Bourdieu's theory of practice.[891] This theory is centred on the habitus, which encompasses the core elements, traits, or concepts that are to be maintained and which generate associated practices. This selection then becomes part of the cultural reality through an organic process, which is informed by experiences and preceding practices that influence reactions and responses to cultural change.[892] The habitus in the case of the indigenous ancient Maghreb is therefore the continuation of the physical as well as symbolic functions of the megalithic structures, including the funerary and ritual expressions, displays of territoriality and hierarchy, and messages of affiliation and association. In this sense, change is not so much the creation of anything completely new, but rather the development of that which is already well-established in order to maintain as much of the status quo as possible while adapting to new conditions. Stewart's emphasis on 'restructuring' as a central process of creolization can be applied here. As this does not place a great degree of significance on external influence or impact, focus is instead on the rearrangement or simplification of the pre-existing situation to better suit a new environment and its conditions.[893] As seen in Chapter 4, these new conditions can be the result of environmental factors (4th millennium BCE) or socio-political change (4th century BCE). In each case, the responses of the indigenous inhabitants can be traced through their funerary architecture as a reflection of the priorities of these communities: territoriality, hierarchy, and the correct observance of sacro-social expectations. If these were not successfully communicated, this would undermine the core values of the observing communities.

[891] Bentley (1987), 27.
[892] Bourdieu (1977), 72; Bentley (1987), 28.
[893] Stewart (2007), 18.

The use of new and originally foreign elements does not detract from the way in which the North African tombs were engaged with locally. There is arguably no significant change in the funerary practices of the ancient Maghreb from the earliest phases to the Hellenistic period and beyond. Instead, a pronounced continuation is evident despite the incoming traditions of diverse cultures on the northern shores and into the hinterland. Colonial-indigenous distinctions are not as clear-cut as presumed; instead, there are nuances and multiple layers involved in this process of representation and expression.[894] It is not a matter of wanting to appear to fit into the new form of articulation, and the engagement with these symbols could have a more powerful motivation. As Helms argues, the use and practice of certain skills shows a degree of power over these skills, such as metalwork and the ability to sail and navigate.[895] Showing mastery over these complex and valuable skills reflects the power held by certain individuals in the same way that control over certain territories and natural resources would do. Not everyone can possess these privileges and for a ruler or elite to show control and understanding of previously unknown elements is important in developing a power identity. Therefore, material culture is not passive but rather part of "dynamic actions that helped to create power-relations".[896] Using certain items or symbolic elements, elites could curate specific social personae through a deliberate and careful process. Of course, this control does not need to be direct but can include power over those individuals who can perform a task or craft. Control over a revered person or set of people by elites imbues these elites with the power it takes to command them. This is the same for ancient symbolic elements, showing mastery over not only local and well-established motifs but also those not inherently part of the culture, proving a far-reaching power not limited by physical contact and proximity.

[894] Van Dommelen (2002), 124.
[895] Helms (1993), 69-87.
[896] Hingley (1997), 87-88; see also the discussions in Quinn (2013), Kuttner (2013).

Identity and diversity: tumuli and towers

Returning to the aforementioned monumental tumuli and tower tombs, these levels of identity and social projection can certainly be used to answer a question that up to this point has not yet been addressed. That is, why during the Hellenistic period were elite burials articulated in these two very different formats? These are part of the habitus required for the development and projection of identity as they have been deliberately selected for preservation and continuation, emphasising their importance in the projection of indigenous self- and social identity. Chronologically, these tombs occur at the same time in the late first millennium BCE, while geographically, they are spread across the entire region. The formulation and symbolism of the structures is also similar, with a combination of originally foreign and more indigenous elements of design, construction, and ritual interaction.[897] Nothing here appears to separate them or create a defined distinction. Therefore, the difference must lie in who is buried within. The monumental tumuli arguably represent two distinct dynasties: that of Gaia in the east and Bocchus I or Juba II in the west, Numidia and Mauretania respectively. However, the tower tombs, those linked to clear royalty at least, are associated with individuals within already established confederation dynasties: Vermina at Beni Rhenane, and Massinisa or Micipsa at Es Soumaa; all princes and later rulers of these dynasties.[898] Dougga, Henchir Bourgou, and Sabratha B are not traditionally linked to ruling elites but remain elite nonetheless and therefore take their cue from the lesser elite tomb, the tower, as opposed to the ultimate elite tomb, the monumental tumulus. This scale of hierarchy reinforces the well-established and long-held practice in ancient North Africa of reflecting the social dynamics of the living world even after death. During the early stages of megalithic construction this would have occurred in the size and positioning of the tomb. By the Hellenistic period, we see two distinct

[897] A detailed discussion of each of these tombs can be found in Chapter 2.

[898] As in-depth scientific investigation for these structures is lacking, coupled with widespread grave robbing, the validity of these proposed occupants and the subsequent analysis, while based on informed assumptions, must remain hypothetical. See Chapter 2 for the reasoning.

degrees of elite representation, the highest degree in the tumulus and the second degree in the tower tomb. These tombs satisfy not only the expected funerary and symbolic articulation but also respect the multi-layered social dynamics present throughout the Maghreb, from the smallest clan unit to the pan-regionally recognised kingdom. Therefore, this allows for a diverse articulation within a shared system of monumental construction as dictated by the pre-existing sacro-social complexities of the indigenous communities. Although appearing to follow more Classical Mediterranean trends of elite monumental architecture and design, with scholars linking them to such tombs as those of Cyrus and Alexander the Great, the tumuli and tower tombs of the Hellenistic period show a strong continuity of deeply-rooted indigenous traditions.[899] This continuity is evidenced by placement in significant locations along ancient networks and symbolic settings and orientations, the expression of hierarchy and affiliation through subtle messages of association to land and overlords, and to the continuation of ritual engagement as facilitated by the deliberate design and construction of their tombs. Over the centuries of interaction and exchange, development and adaptation, the ancient Imazighen through their funerary world were able to seamlessly negotiate the ebb and flow of cultural contact, both within and outwith the African continent, creating and retaining a uniquely Maghrebi sense of self- and social-identity.

5.3. Between the desert and the deep: some conclusions

This thesis set out to evaluate the development of the funerary architecture of the ancient Maghreb as exhibited in the archaeological remains of the later first millennium BCE. Using the nine best-known Hellenistic period monumental structures as a point of departure, this study highlighted the long and well-established funerary practices that

[899] Coarelli and Thébert (1988), 773, 779-788. See Chapter 2 for the prevailing interpretations linking the Maghrebi tombs to eastern elite monuments.

informed and influenced the development of these seemingly unique elite constructions. By analysing the deeply-rooted wider northern African traditions and practices, it has shown that funerary architecture played an integral socio-political role in the lives of the ancient inhabitants of the region, specifically with regard to the expression of hierarchy and affiliation, territoriality, spiritual and ritual significance, and even economic connectivity. This was then traced from the earliest development of megalithic funerary construction from the 4th millennium into the later first millennium BCE through evidence found in the architectural elements, landscape and sense archaeology, and sacro-social engagement, as seen in Chapter 3. By proving the establishment of this continuity in funerary practices and architecture as an important concept in the comprehension of these ancient communities, this thesis provides a counterpoint to the prevailing interpretation of emulation, imitation, and break from tradition as discussed in Chapter 2. This analysis, however, requires a context for greater comprehension. By analysing the centuries of contact in the ancient Maghreb through the framework of globalization theory it is possible to see the complex nature of interaction and exchange that took place in two distinct periods of widespread interconnectedness: the increased desertification of the Sahara leading to the spread of the cattle cult tradition and the development of human megalithic burial; and the increase in Mediterranean connectivity and the 'golden age' of megalithic construction. This theoretical approach allows for a balanced and neutral angle of investigation into the complexities of cross-cultural contact while taking into consideration the input from a variety of diverse cultures leading to glocalization, and ultimately creolization.[900]

This creolization was pervasive in the communities of the ancient Maghreb, not only for the indigenous inhabitants but also for the incoming settlers. This cross-cultural interaction and exchange led to the development of a new form of cultural articulation

[900] For globalization theory see Hodos (2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2017); Baitinger and Hodos (2016); Jennings (2011, 2017); Pitts and Versluys (2014). For glocalization see Hodos (2014); Nustad (2013); Robertson (1995). For creolization see Webster (2001); Cusick (2000; Ferguson (1992); Lightfoot and Martínez (1995); Stewart (2007).

in various aspects of North African society in the later first millennium BCE. Nuanced and dynamic interactions resulted in creative conceptions, generating new articulations for old traditions, such as the Hellenistic period tower tombs developing from ancient standing stones, and old articulations for new traditions, including the unique haouanet, which incorporated older customs and motifs in a new form of burial. In each case, although created from diverse cultures, these constructions are uniquely North African, generated by an actively engaged creolized society. Change was not made lightly; these funerary practices were woven into the very socio-political fabric of these societies. Therefore, these changes and innovations cannot be based on inconsequential fluctuating trends, as they would need to satisfy and fit into a local social context deeply rooted in ancient traditions and effective communication. For such an important symbol to be altered by elite political and economic aspirations reflecting the whims of foreign powers is in opposition to the importance placed on continuity and adherence to tradition evident in indigenous Maghrebi society.

5.3.1. Hellenistic Period to Kingdom Period

As a further counterpoint to Benabou's argument for resistance to foreign influences, this current study has shown that the active engagement of the indigenous inhabitants of the Maghreb with diverse influences was an ongoing and integral part to their social identity and expression.[901] By interacting with widespread networks into Africa and the Mediterranean, the ancient Imazighen were able to develop and successfully create a unique and long-lasting cultural identity strong and stable enough to remain recognisable throughout the centuries. This interaction does not imply cultural weakness in the face of incoming foreign influences, but proves the pragmatism and creativity inherent in this society. This was not an 'us versus them' scenario resulting in a winning or losing culture. Instead, the later first millennium BCE saw the emergence, perhaps even a renaissance, of powerful indigenous political entities with their

[901] Benabou (1976).

accompanying identities deeply rooted in the pre-existing customs and traditions. In light of this, moving forward it is best to speak not of a Hellenistic period but rather a Kingdom period in North Africa during the later first millennium BCE. This serves to place the agency and instigation of development and change into the hands of the indigenous kingdoms and their own motivations. The complexity and nuances of the term Hellenistic to describe a wider Mediterranean trend during the last half of the first millennium BCE, especially with regards to the western Mediterranean, is noted by Prag and Quinn who emphasise how the definition and inference of this term changes depending on the region and theme under analysis.[902] The origin of this term, stemming from the expansion of the Greek world following Alexander's conquests, has developed over the years to imply a more general period of heightened cross-cultural interaction throughout the Mediterranean, including in the Near East and northern Africa. The use of the term Hellenistic to describe the period under review in the ancient Maghreb, generates the same assumptions of foreign dominance as seen in the early scholarship concerning the elite monumental tombs of the later first millennium BCE. Since these assumptions and perceptions of strong Hellenistic influences and aspirations of these structures have been successfully countered with interpretations of indigenous motivations and agency, why maintain the term to describe this period in North Africa at all? As these monuments are the result of the development of indigenous kingdoms and all that has come before, and not fundamentally the expansion of the Greek world, naming this period the Kingdom period is a more suitable description of the process at this time. Therefore, the Kingdom period of North Africa is a time of increased indigenous self-awareness on a more global scale resulting in a self- and social identity attune to and representative of an increasingly dynamic and creolized society. The indigenous inhabitants of the ancient Maghreb were well-connected and widely respected as demonstrated by their pan-regional socio-political, military, and economic

[902] Prag and Quinn (2013), 1-13.

interactions.[903] Never swept aside, even during the years of increased Roman colonial efforts, the Imazighen retained their independent sense of self.

5.3.2. Future research

This thesis serves to highlight the study of the archaeology of the ancient indigenous Maghreb as a significant area for further research. Two areas in particular show a rich source for continued study. Firstly, the ever-expanding research concerning contact and exchange along long-distance networks; and secondly, the importance of the study of ritual and sense archaeology in understanding not only funerary structures but the communities that created them. Alongside the ongoing large-scale projects dedicated to the study of long-distance trade networks in the Sahara discussed in Chapter 1, this current thesis offers a case study illustrating the impact of this work.[904] Understanding how this desert region was used as a conduit for travel and contact, as opposed to an insurmountable barrier, allows for a deeper comprehension of how these networks were used for cultural exchange. This study also shows the importance of balancing the Mediterranean avenues of contact, which have long received scholarly attention, with the wider African network, including the sub-Saharan regions. This in turn highlights the need for the wider application of globalization theory to the ancient communities of these regions as a framework within which this can be better understood. This approach offers a more balanced angle of enquiry, focussing less on the statistics of exchange and more on the human experience. The continuing viability of the application of this theory to the ancient world and its material culture is exemplified by the upcoming panel at the 25th European Association of Archaeologists (EAA) to be held in Bern in September 2019, entitled *The archaeology of globalization beyond the latest paradigm*.[905]

[903] See Chapter 1 for the pan-regional interconnectivity of the indigenous communities.
[904] See for instance Desert Migrations (website); Trans-SAHARA (website); Mattingly (2017a); Mattingly et al. (2017); Di Lernia (2006, 2013); Di Lernia and Manzi (2002); Di Lernia et al. (2013).
[905] Session #198, EAA (website).

Globalization in ancient northern Africa was a pervasive process resulting in a shared megalithic tradition with widespread local variation. Over the centuries that this funerary practice was followed, a number of distinct characteristics arose, leading to different tomb types but with an underlying common ritual and human engagement and interaction. It is in this shared sacro-social realm that the thread of continuity can be traced from the earliest megalithic burials to the Kingdom period monumental tombs and beyond. This continuity was strong enough to persist even when diverse influences were introduced to the indigenous communities of the ancient Maghreb. This contact did not succeed in obscuring or dominating the indigenous cultural practices and projections but became part of the ever-developing social and self-identity through the organic process of creolization. The resultant creolization of the later first millennium BCE society stands as testament to the creativity of and active engagement between the local and incoming peoples within the Maghreb. Although elements of Mediterranean cultural traits are present, their incorporation has been through a deliberate and selective process by the local Maghrebi communities while maintaining a distinctly Amazigh identity. This identity is one of strong connectivity to a deep-rooted interaction with the land and ancestors as demonstrated by the emphasis placed on territoriality, physical presence, hierarchy, and demonstration of affiliation through proximity. These aspects are seen in the way in which these communities created and engaged with their funerary structures, placing them in significant locations, in association with the tombs of prominent individuals, while meeting the shared expectations of power symbolism and adherence to established ritual norms. When more distinct variation does occur, as seen most prominently in the elite Kingdom period structures, this is still within an established and accepted framework. Even a king such as Massinissa who is celebrated with a god-like status by a pan-regional audience is bound by the ancient established cultural expectations of funerary practices. This individual who was celebrated as a revolutionary character, through a combination of his acts and the perception of prominent ancient rulers and authors,

was still strongly tethered to his indigenous roots. Described by Fentress as having "exploited all his cultures to the hilt", Massinissa expresses his local identity through his tomb in a way that inextricably knits together the old and new, creating a uniquely North African projection.[906]

Turning to the theme of human experience, this has proven to be a vital part in the wider comprehension of the funerary remains of the ancient Maghreb and is best explored through the ever-developing fields of landscape and sense archaeology. Although an inherently intangible and ambiguous area of research, the human and lived experience of tombs and their ritual engagement is a very important means by which these structures can be studied and understood. This has certainly been proven by the successful research conducted on Mediterranean islands where landscape and sense archaeology have been effective in creating a wider comprehension of the communities here through their material culture as discussed in Chapters 1 and 4.[907] By focussing less on the end result of megalithic construction in the ancient Maghreb and more on the underlying conditions that required and created specific decisions and designs, it has been possible to generate if not firm answers at least important viable avenues of further investigation into the funerary landscape of this region and its people(s). A study of the funerary landscape of the ancient Maghreb and why, how, and to what end the indigenous communities were affected, is a study of active local engagement with pan-regional networks of contact and exchange. As an integral aspect to the lives of these widely-distributed but well-connected people, the funerary world became an important means of physical and spiritual communication, not only with each other, but those coming into their land from within Africa as well as the Mediterranean. Although delineation can perhaps be seen between those aspects fostered on the continent, and those coming from the sea, the culmination of centuries of contact, engagement, and exchange resulted in the creation of a continuous,

[906] Fentress (2006), 11.
[907] See for instance Tilley (2004); Hamilton et al. (2006); Skeates (2010, 2016); Hamilakis (2013).

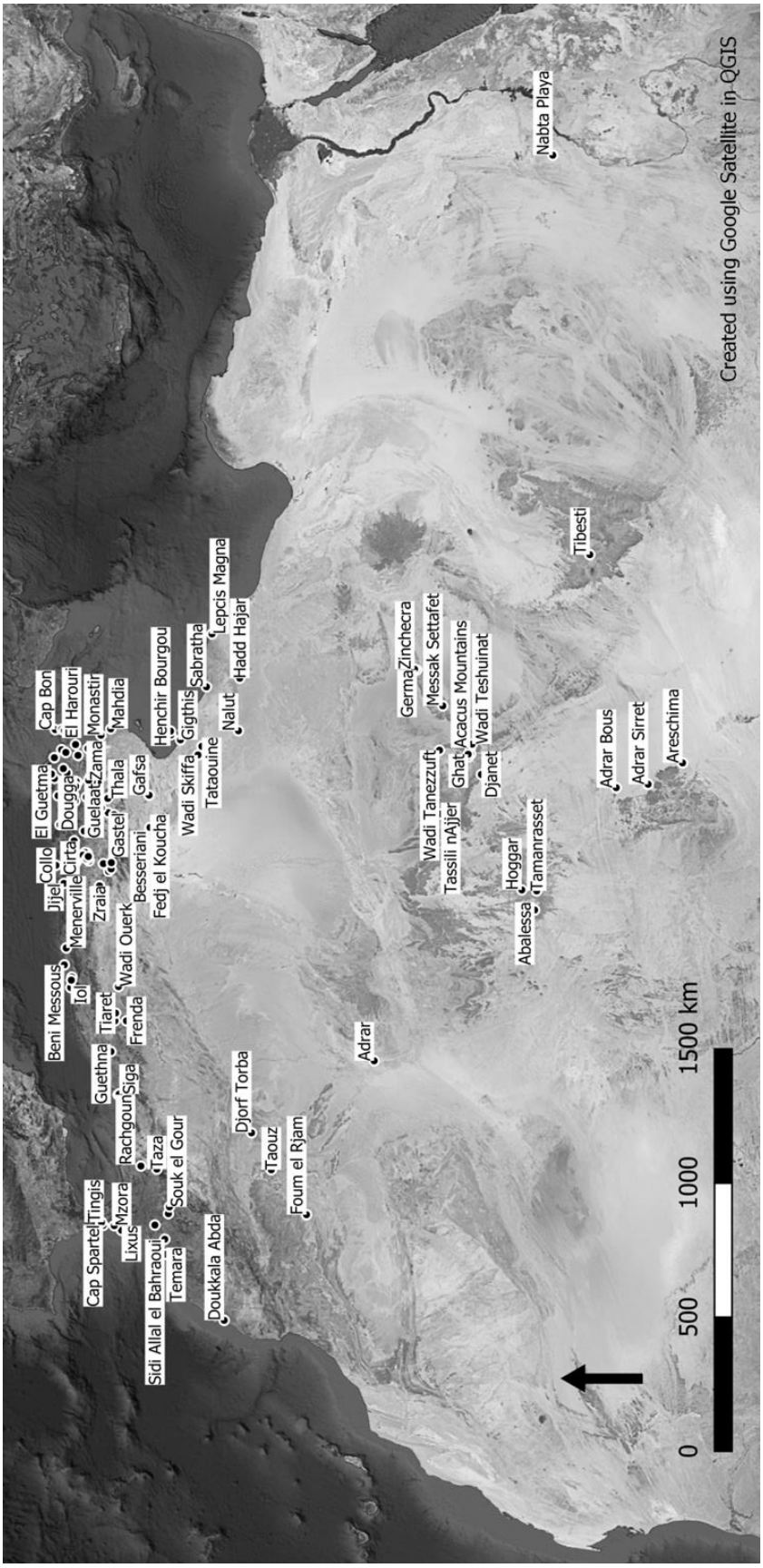
dynamic, and adaptive social awareness and identity. In order to demonstrate why a study of this nature is important, one need only turn to recent publications to see the legacy of imbalanced scholarly perception. Bridoux for instance uses the phrases "belonged to this Punic world" and "succumbed to Carthaginian cultural influences" to describe the dynamics of indigenous and Punic interaction in the ancient Maghreb.[908] Through such terminology there is still this misplaced sense of cultural hierarchy and superiority when discussing contact and exchange in this region and among its inhabitants. Similarly, answering Ardeleanu's recent call for a new approach other than the current emphasis on rupture and continuity in early Roman North Africa, this thesis offers a different angle of enquiry that can be adapted to this later period.[909] What this current study has attempted to achieve is to change this paradigm from a perspective of entities in opposition and instead introduce the idea that the later first millennium BCE was not a time of cultural corrosion but rather creation.

As previously stated, this process of engagement with foreign influences while showing a strong sense of continuity of established, ancient traditions, is ongoing. As much as this is evident in the ancient world, so too is it visible in the modern era. Since the Arab Spring across North Africa in 2011, there has been a wider and more vocal development in the acknowledgement and promotion of Amazigh identity and political voice. In Morocco, Tamazight, the modern Amazigh dialect, was officially recognised in 2011, and efforts have been made to increase its presence in school curricula, although problems do persist.[910] Algeria too has increased the representation of Amazigh culture since the *Tafsut Imazighen* (Amazigh Spring) of 1980, with the introduction of the Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe in 2001, and the official recognition of Tamazight in 2016 alongside the recent call for the Djedars to receive UNESCO World Heritage

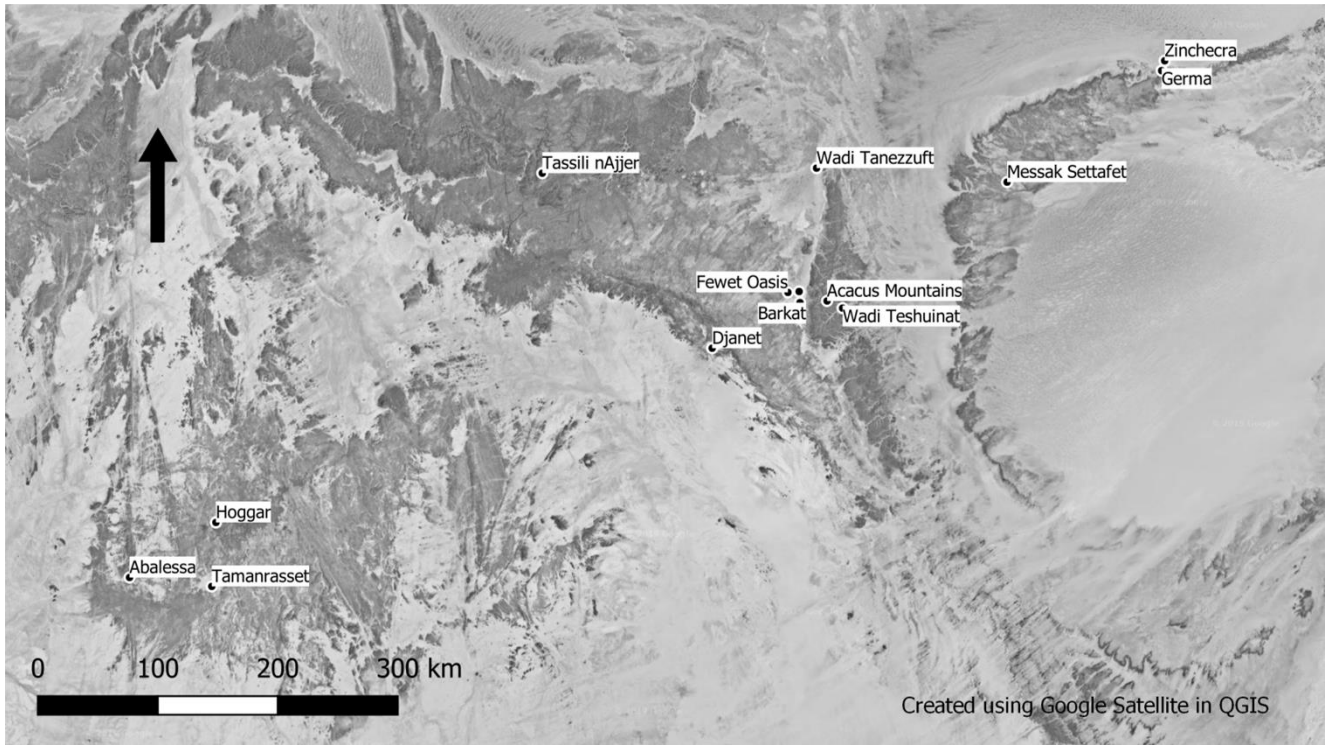
[908] Bridoux (2014), 200.
[909] Ardeleanu (2015).
[910] Keenan (2014).

status.[911] Amazigh presence in Tunisia has also increased since 2011 with the freedom to speak Tamazight and use Amazigh names, as well as a general upswing in interest in the indigenous culture and its heritage.[912] Amazigh communities in Libya faced more political tensions as they were actively persecuted under Colonel Muammar Gaddafi and formed part of the fighting units who brought down this regime. Today, efforts are being made to officially recognise Amazigh culture within the Libyan constitution.[913] This thesis only serves to highlight the deep roots of inequality within perceptions of and approaches taken to the contribution of the indigenous communities of the Maghreb, from ancient times up to today. Equal to this modern self-driven movement of global recognition, the ancient Imazighen were not propelled through history by forces beyond their control. Rather, their agency and deliberate interaction with incoming influences and established traditions saw them evolve their communities within their new globalized reality in order to benefit from, as well as impact on, the growing interconnectedness of the 4th to 1st millennium BCE. Far from Camps' claim that they "oscillated down through the centuries", the Imazighen stayed true to their ancient heritage even in the face of increased powerful and influential foreign contact, retaining and maintaining their sense of self as projected in their funerary landscape.

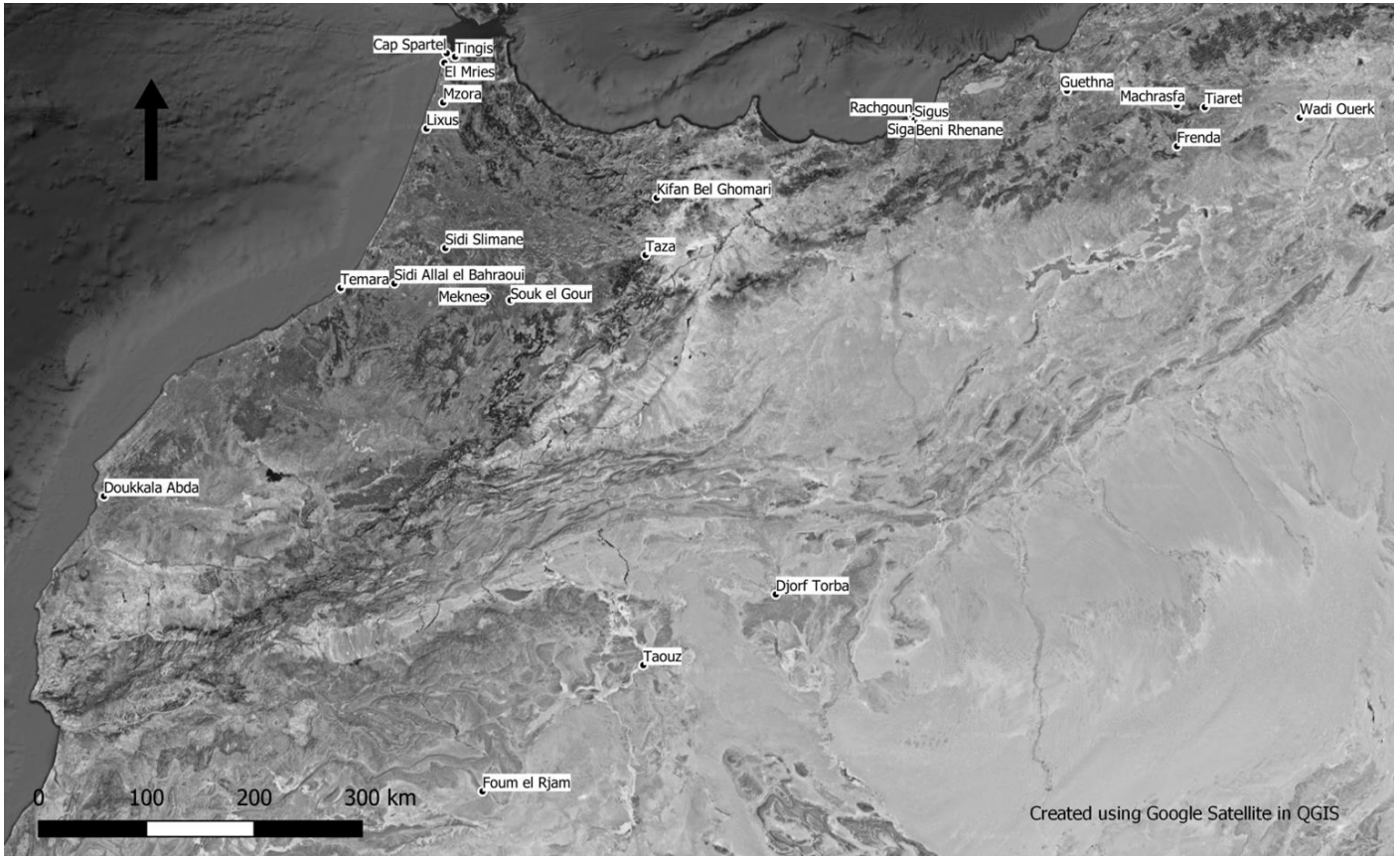
[911] Chtatou (2019); AFP (2019).
[912] Putinja (2018).
[913] The Maghreb's Amazigh population is approximately 60% in Morocco, 20 – 30% in Algeria, 1% in Tunisia, and 5 – 10% in Libya, Lane (2011); Prentis (2018).



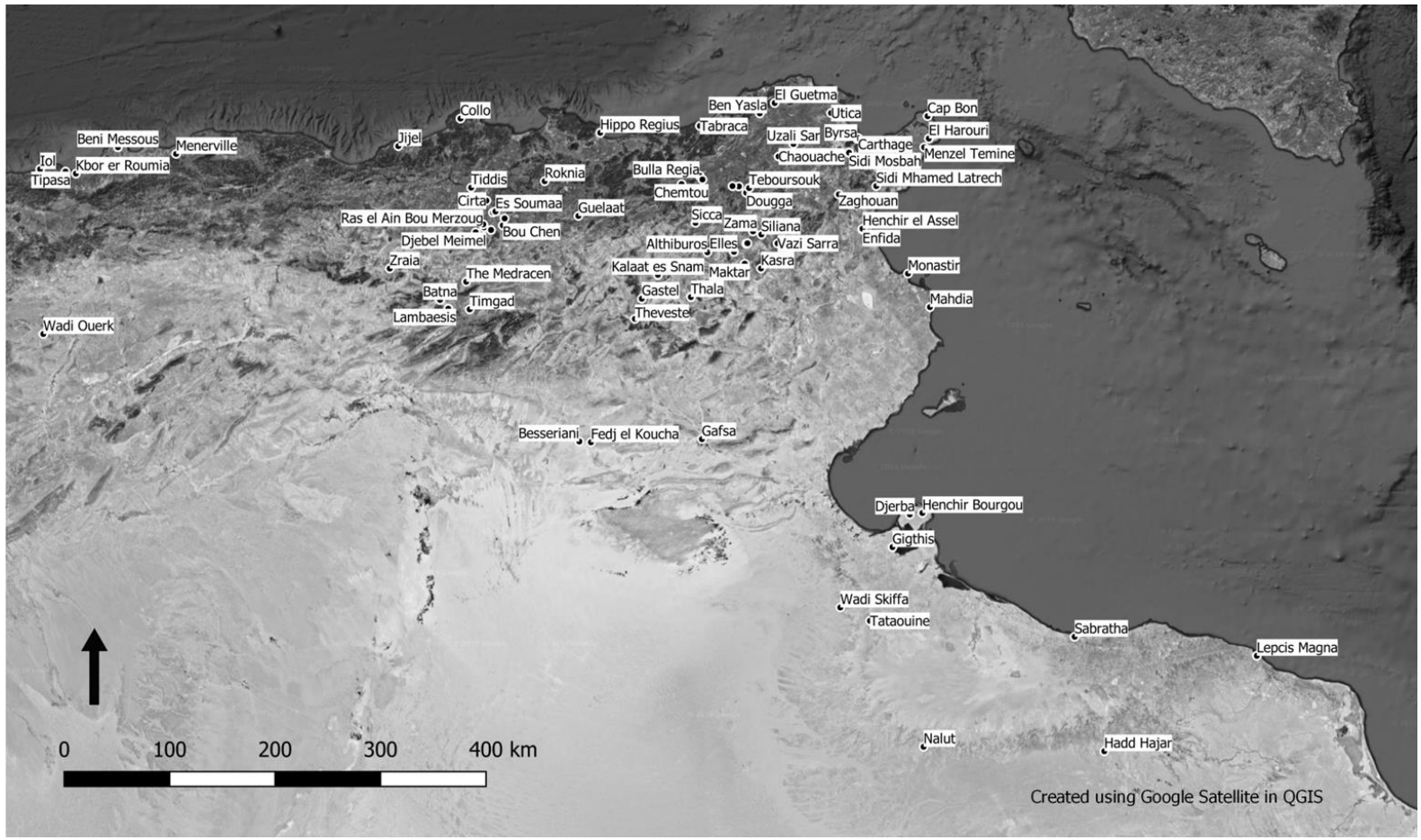
Map 1. Major sites and locations in the Maghreb and Sahara, created using Google Satellite in QGIS.



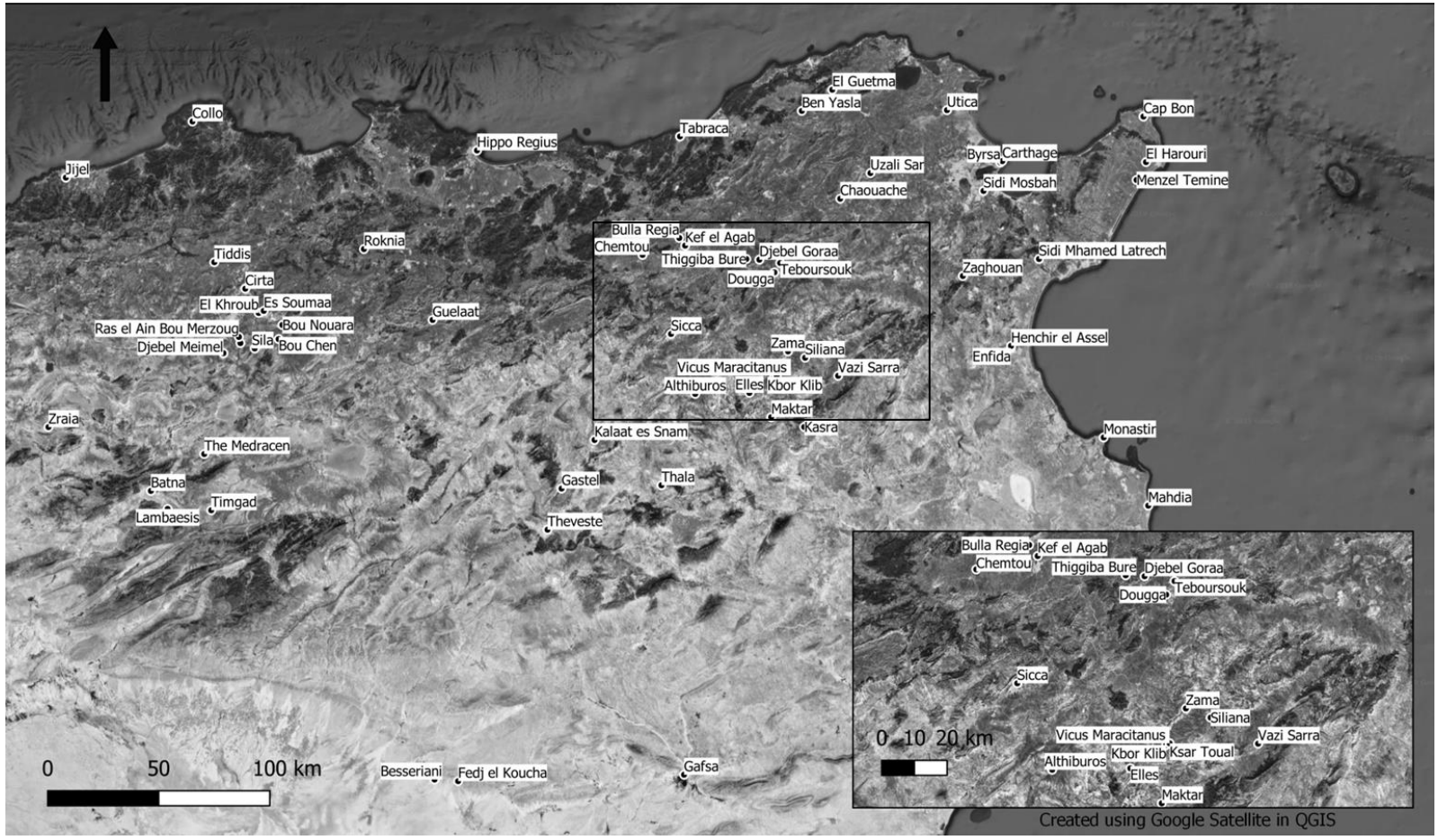
Map 2. Sites in western Algeria and Fazzan (eastern Libya), created using Google Satellite in QGIS.



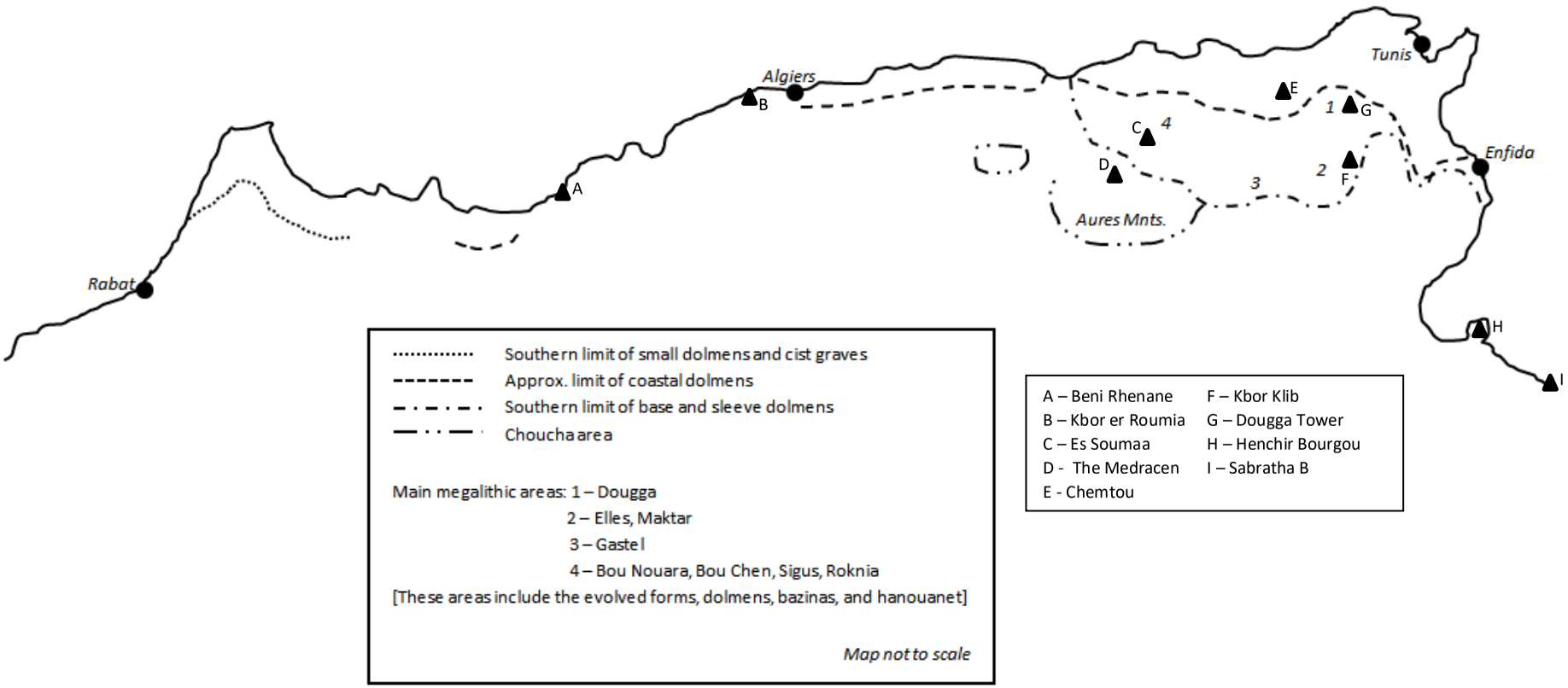
Map 3. Major sites and locations in the western Maghreb, created using Google Satellite in QGIS.



Map 4. Major sites and locations in the central and eastern Maghreb, created using Google Satellite in QGIS.

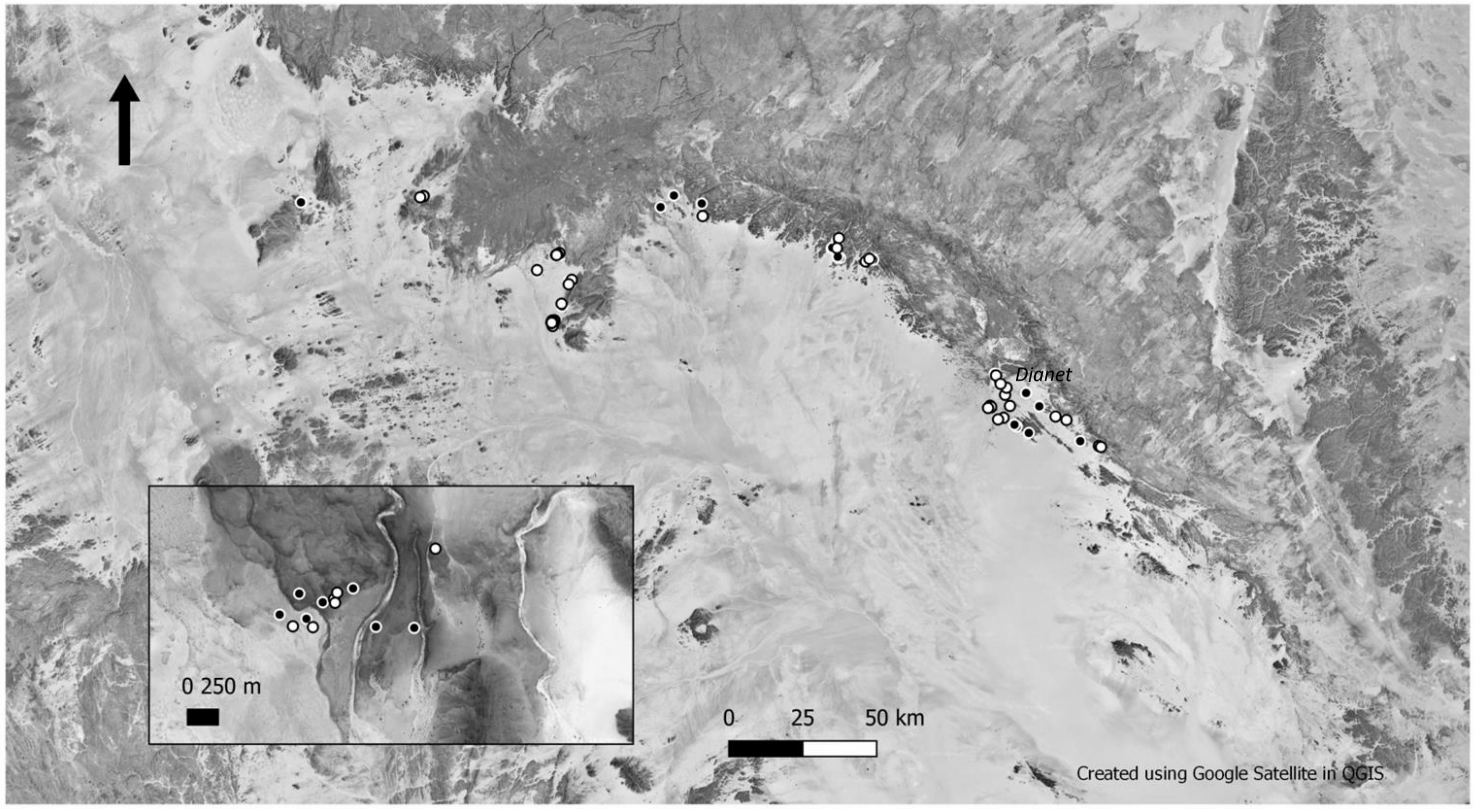


Map 5. Major sites and locations in the north eastern Maghreb, created using Google Satellite in QGIS.



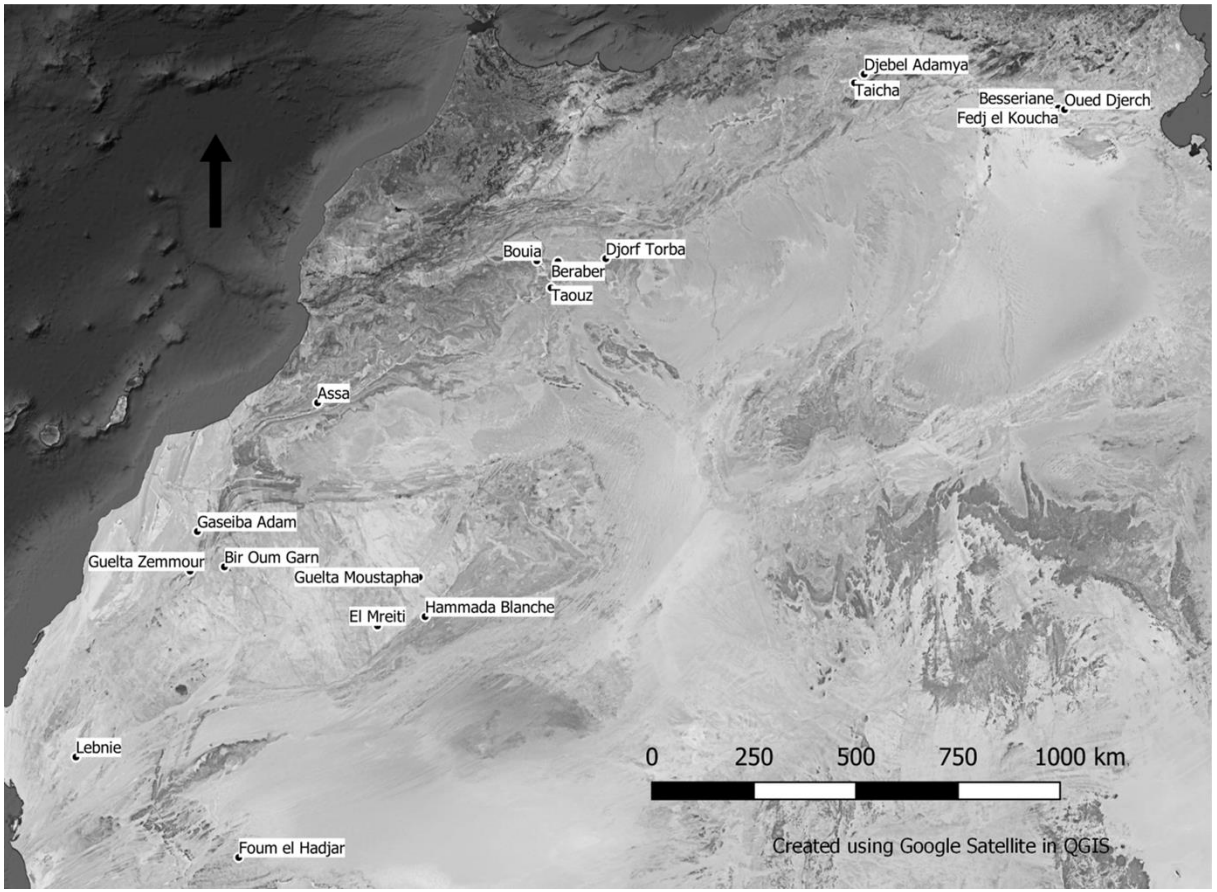
Map 6. Simplified map showing the general regions and areas associated with specific megalithic structures according to data and mapping from Camps (1961), 122-123.

This indicates general trends across the Maghreb with regards to where certain tombs were built in relation to the Hellenistic or Kingdom Period ashlar tombs (A – H)

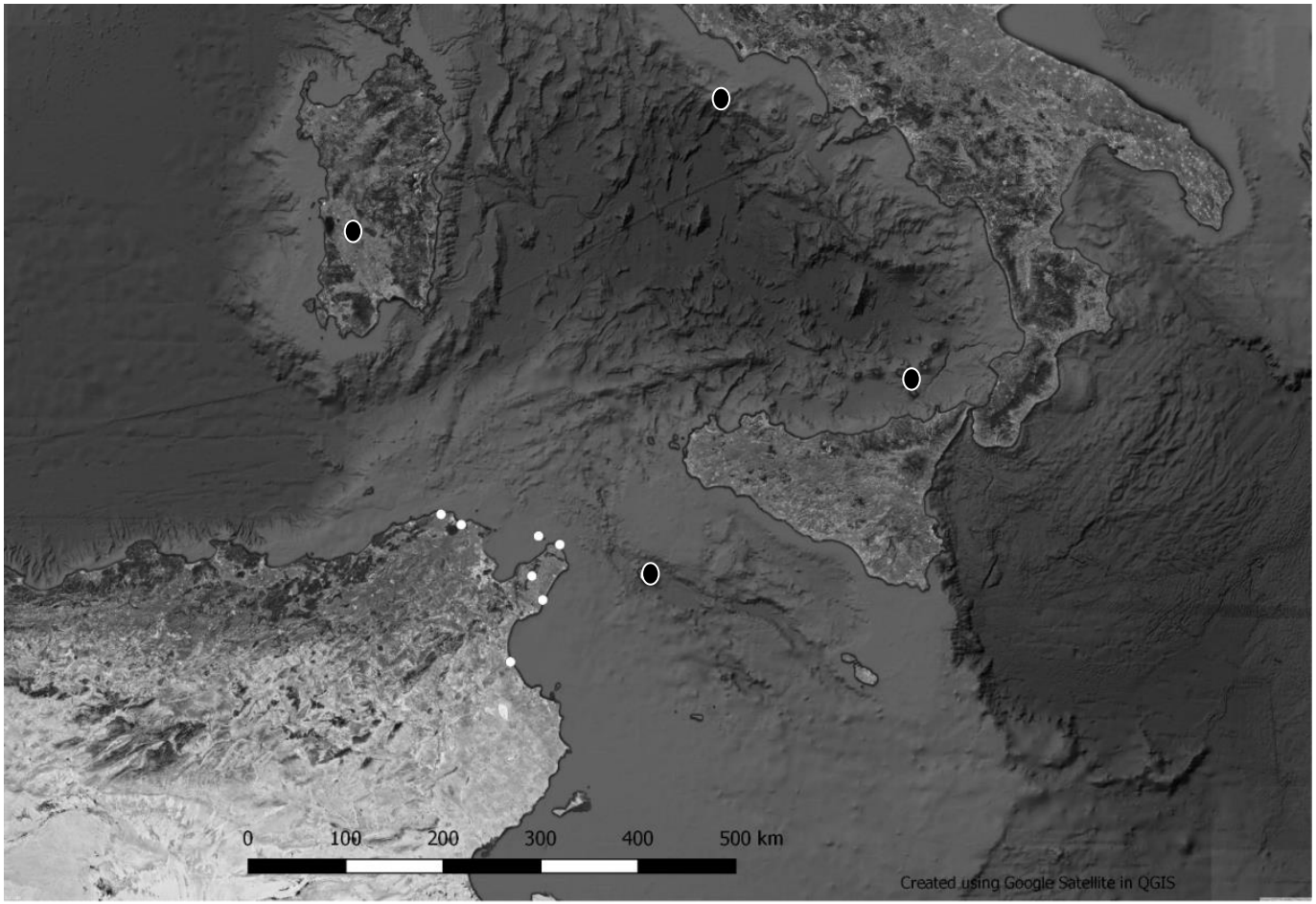


Map 7. Map showing the locations of keyhole monuments (black dots) and tumuli (white dots) near the modern town of Djanet in eastern Algeria. See Sparavigna (2014).

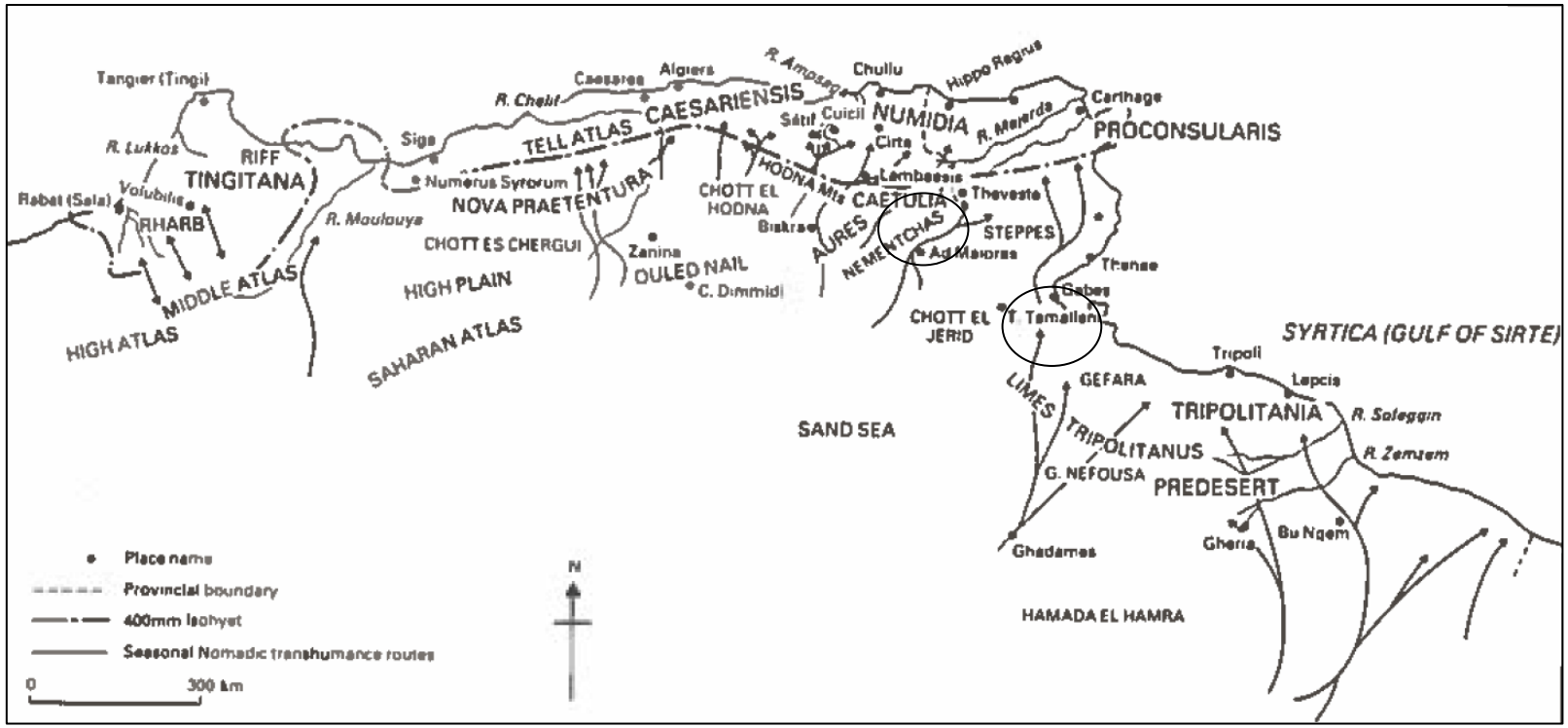
As indicated in this map, there does not appear to be a clear distinction between where keyhole monuments and tumuli were built in relation to each other.



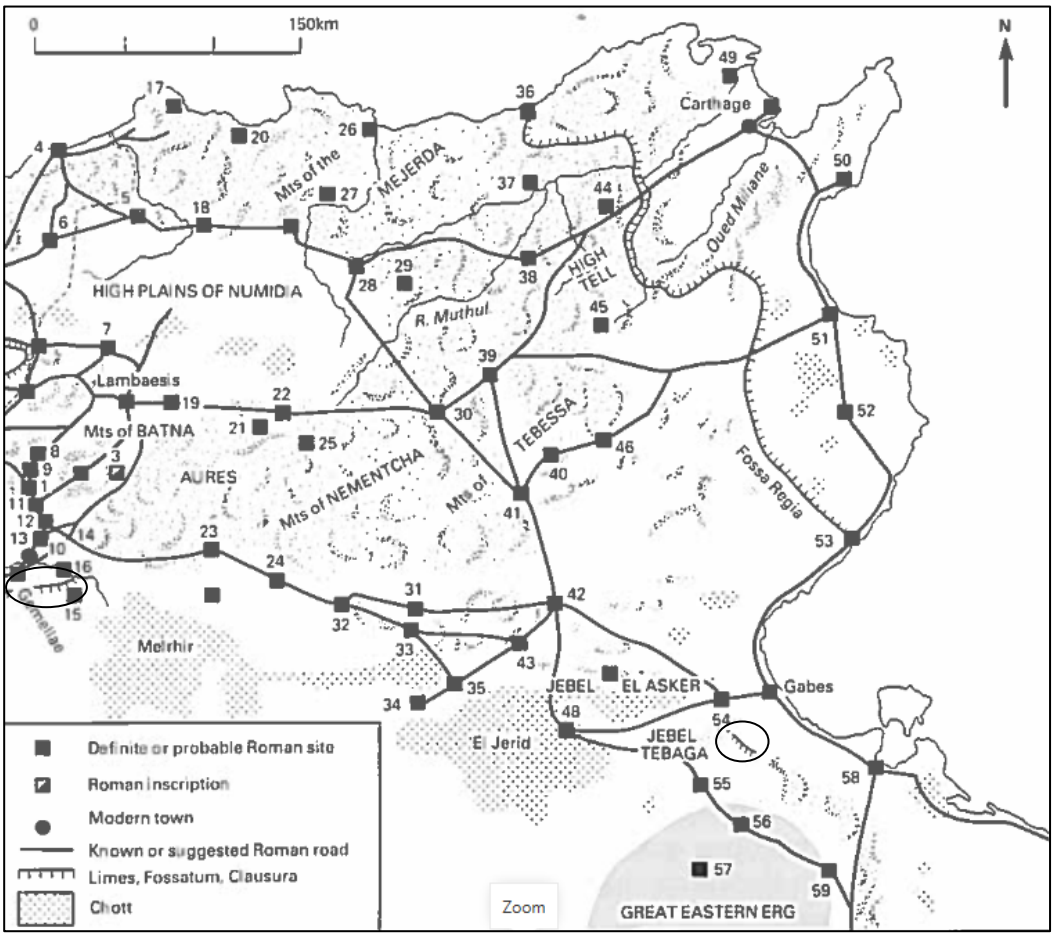
Map 8. Distribution of chapel tumuli in the western Maghreb, created using Google Satellite in QGIS.



Map 9. Obsidian find spots (white dots) in North Africa and obsidian production sites (black dots) in the Mediterranean, created using data from Desange(1981) and Mulazzani (2004) using Google Satellite in QGIS.

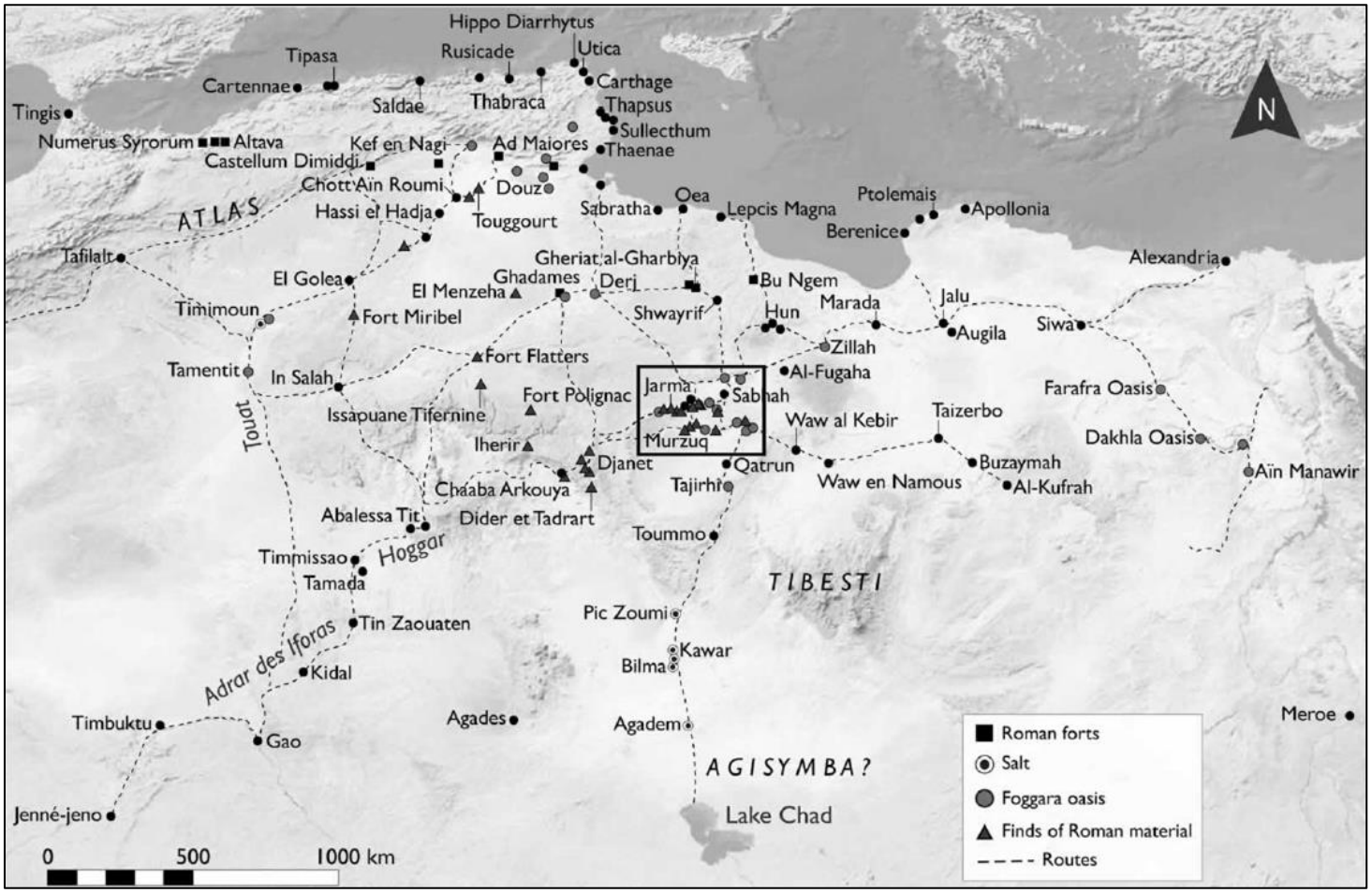


Map 10. Map showing the major topographical features, 400mm isohyet, and transhumance routes (arrows) in ancient North Africa (adapted from Daniels (1987), 234, Fig.10.5). (Circles indicating highlighted frontier structures in Map 11)

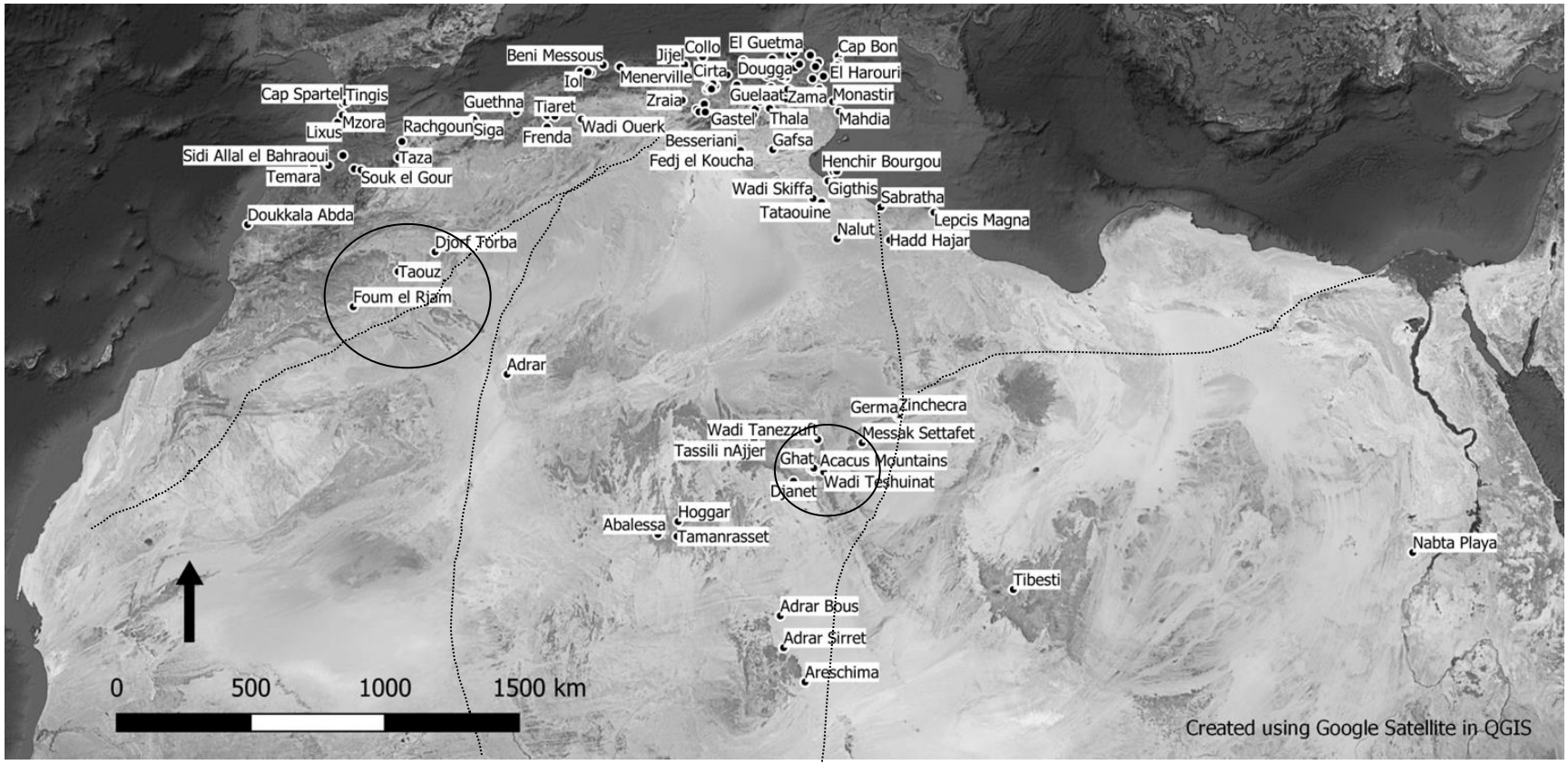


Map 11. Map showing the location of Roman frontier infrastructure in Tunisia and eastern Algeria (adapted from Daniels (1987), 237, Fig.10.6).

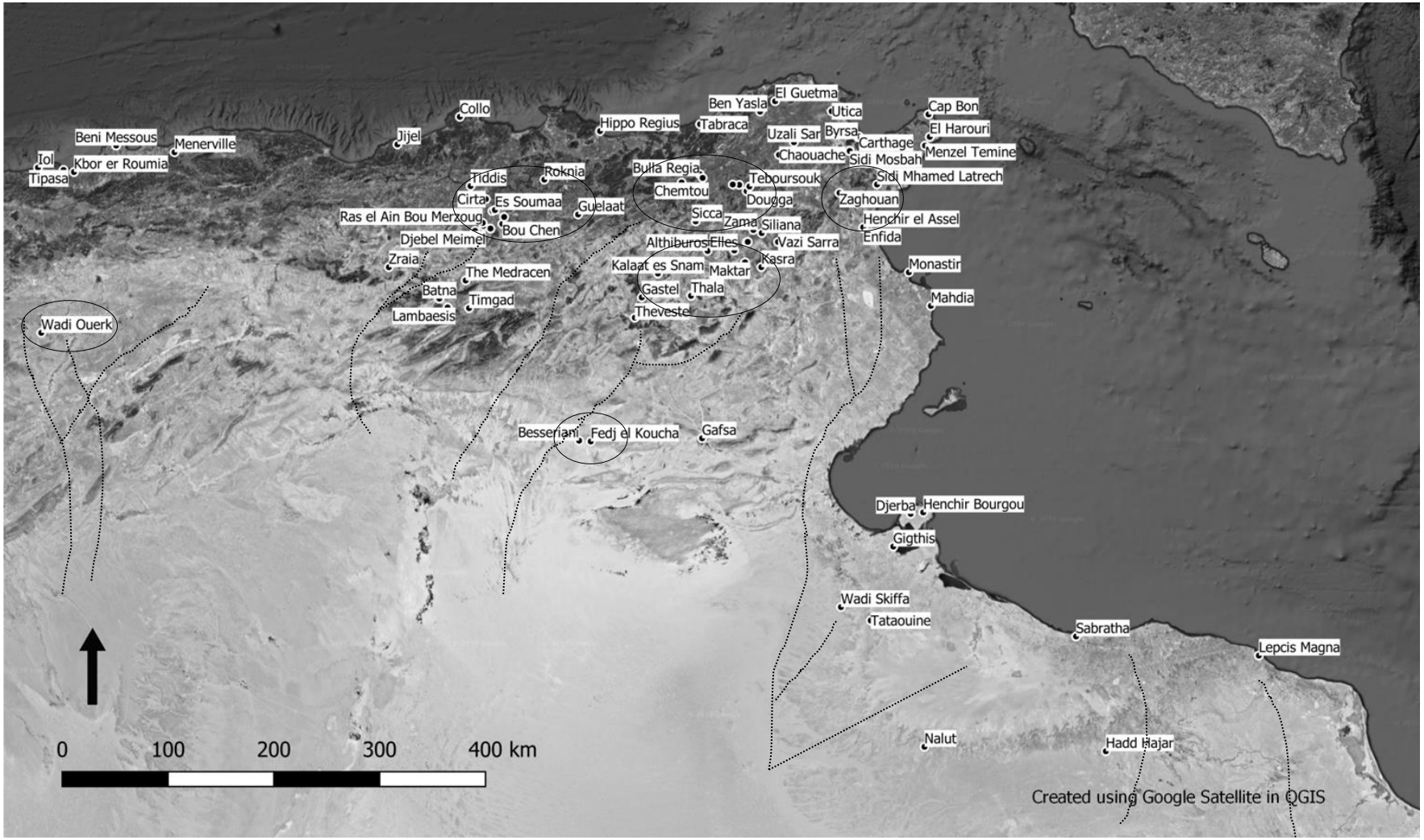
Interesting to note are the apparent isolated and fragmentary frontier structures (circled) which were probably set up to channel the movement of pastoral nomads which indicates the established transhumance routes they would have taken.



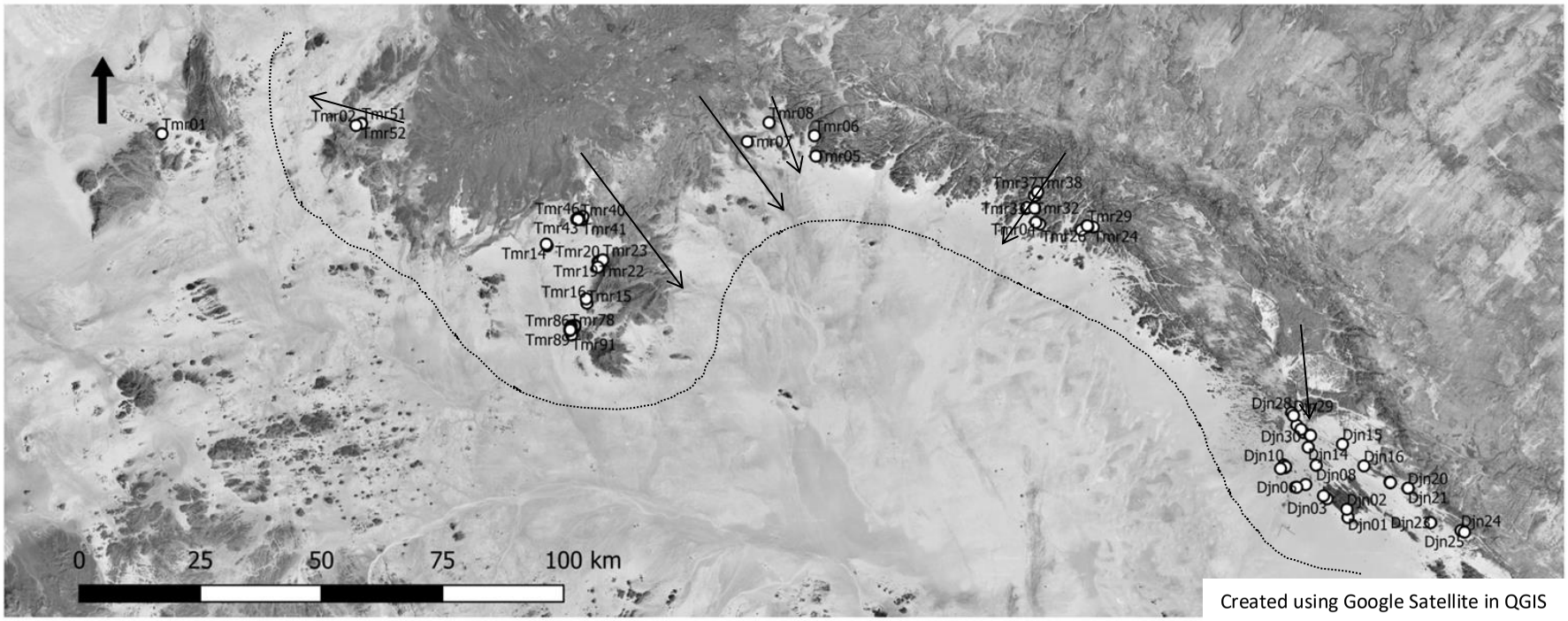
Map 12. Map showing the ancient trade routes across the Sahara Desert, Wilson (2012), 412, Fig.1.



Map 13. Map showing the relationship between the major ancient trade routes (dotted lines) and some of the more isolated tombs sites (circled) in northern Africa. Route data adapted from Wilson (2012), 412, Fig.1.



Map 14. Map showing the relationship between transhumant routes (dotted lines) and areas of significant megalithic tomb construction (circled) in the central Maghreb. Route data adapted from Daniels (1987), 234, Fig.10.5.



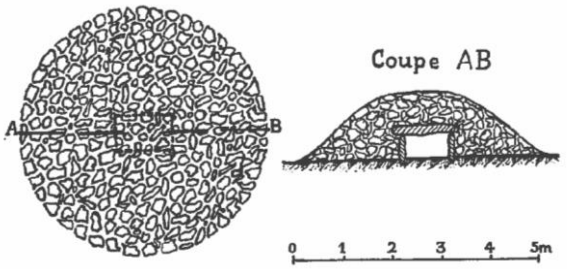
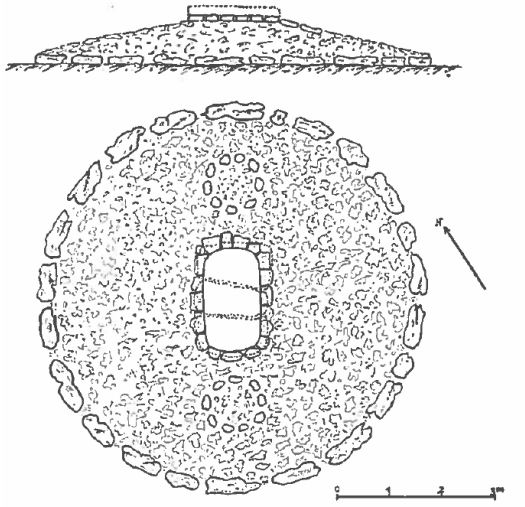
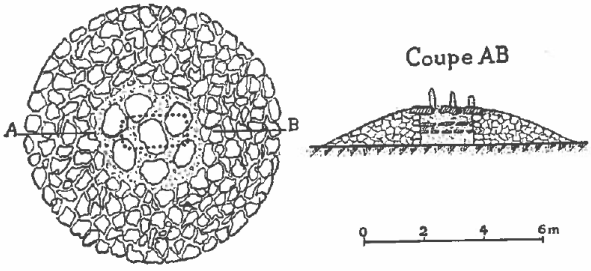
Map 15. Map showing the distribution of megalithic structures in the Tamanrasset province and Djanet region of south eastern Algeria in relation to a likely transhumant route (dotted line) and large wadi areas (arrows indicating flow of water). See Gazetteer 2 for details.

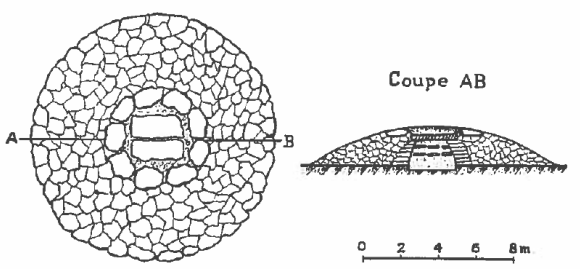
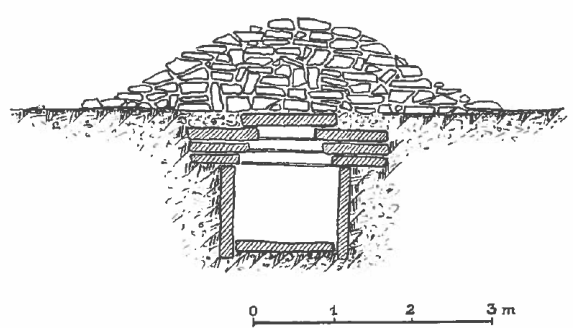
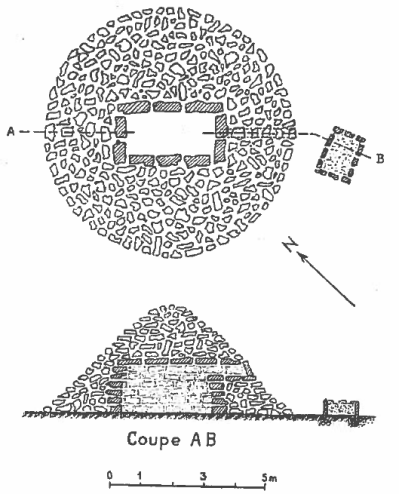
Tables

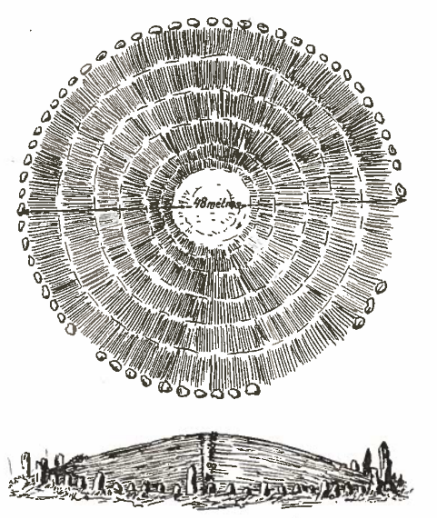
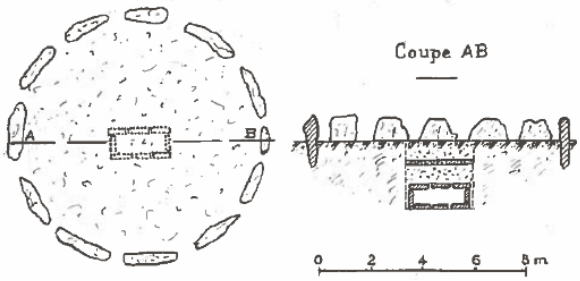
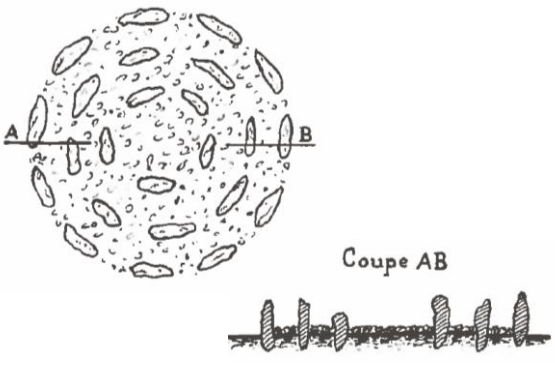
Table 1: Camps' categorisation of megalithic tombs (adapted from Camps (1961), 62.)

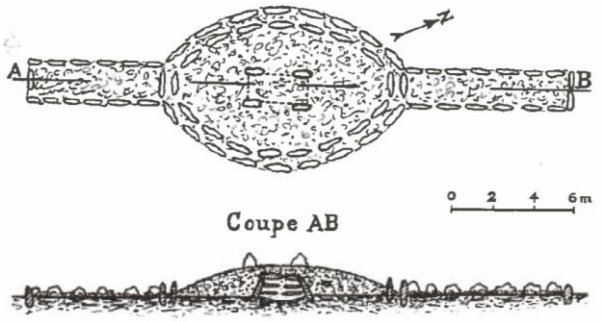
Elementary forms	Autochthonous	Cave, enhanced or natural
		Dry stone tumulus
		Mound or earth tumulus
		Stone circles and other spatial tombs
	Imported	Hanout
		Hypogeum
		Silo tomb
		Dolmen
		Gallery grave
Evolved forms	With external cladding	Evolved megalithic monument
		Bazina
		Choucha
	With ritual space	Alleys, arms, antennae
		External links, enclosures, pathways
		Niches
		Chapels
		Skylights and offering tables
	With structural modifications	Gantry dolmen
		Complex monuments
		Gallery monuments
		Dwelling-like tombs
		Grand mausolea

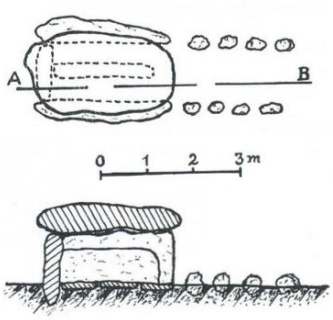
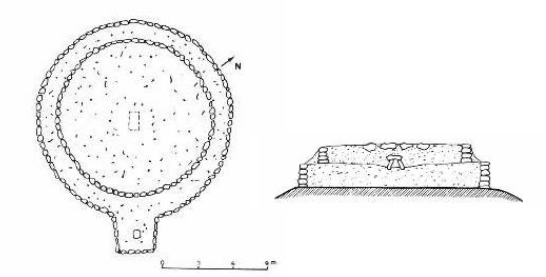
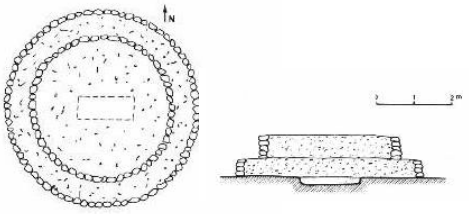
Table 2: Representative tomb types from the ancient Maghreb.

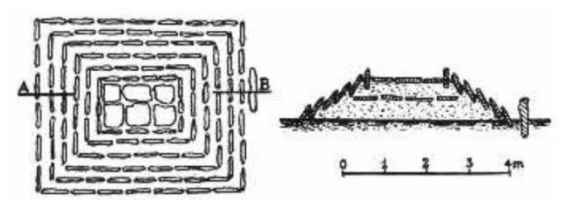
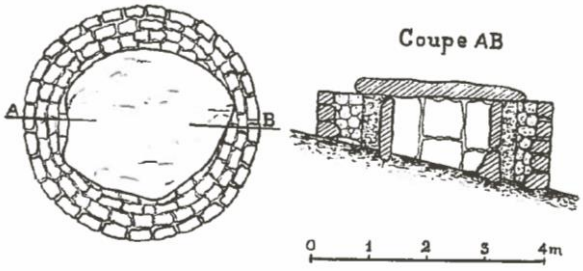
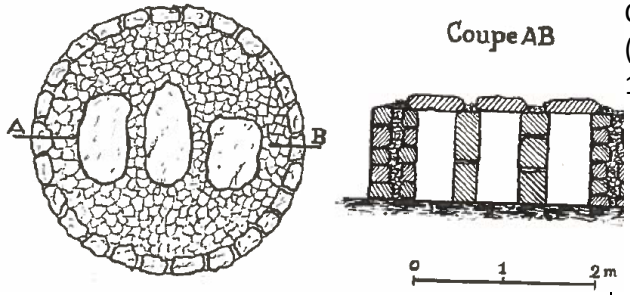
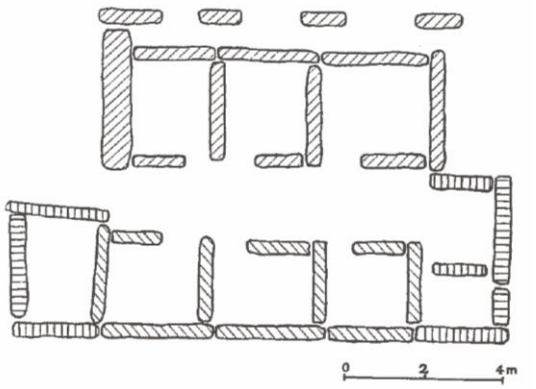
Tomb Type	**Location**	**Image**	**Source**
Tumulus with slab chamber	Aïn Sefra Algeria		Camps (1961), 69, Fig.2
Tumulus with exposed capping slab	Djebel Merah Algeria		Camps (1961), 71, Fig.4
Tumulus with stele on summit	Wadi Ouerk Algeria		Camps (1961), 72, Fig.5

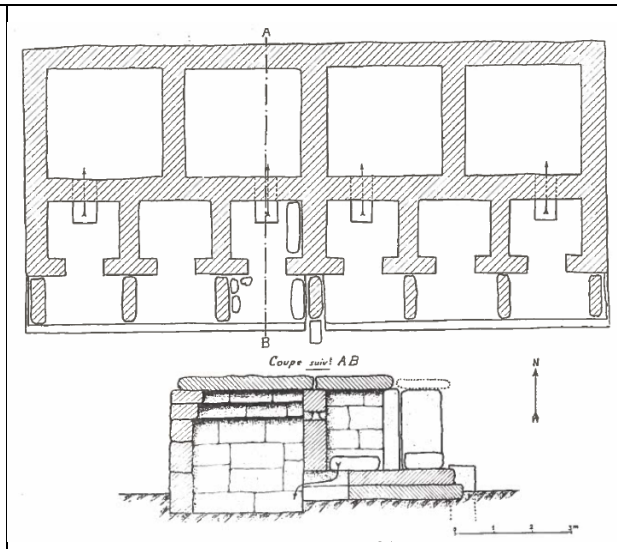
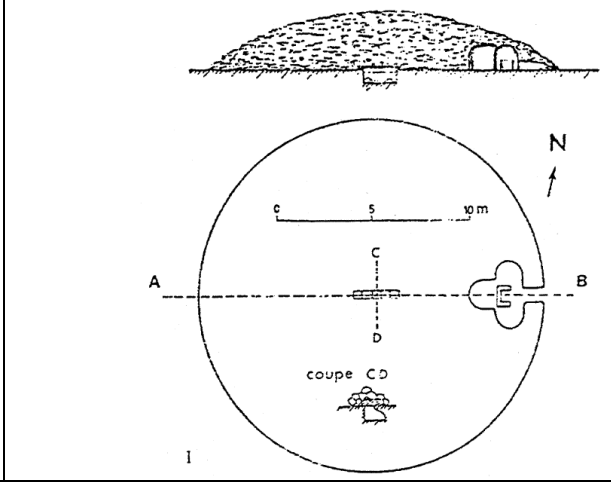
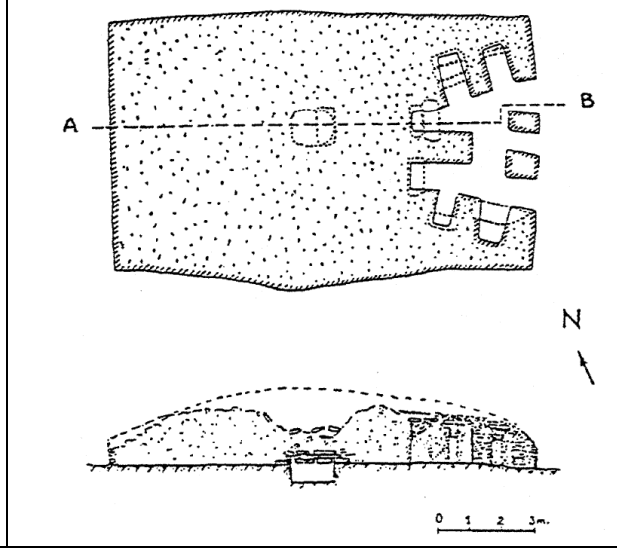
Tumulus with summit crater	Aïn el Hamara Algeria		Camps (1961), 73, Fig.6
Tumulus with cist grave	Erfoud Morocco		Camps (1961), 74, Fig.7
Tumulus with skylight and altar	Foum el Rjam Morocco		Camps (1961), 187, Fig.75.

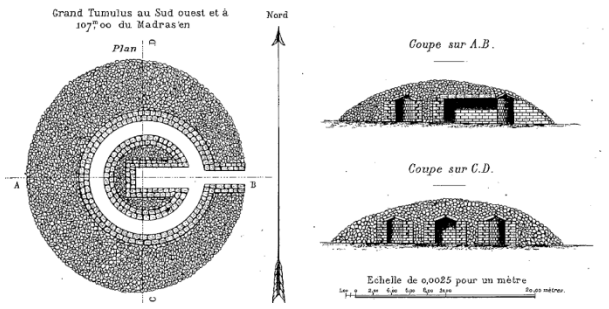
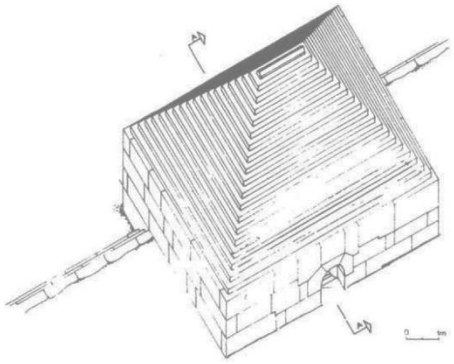
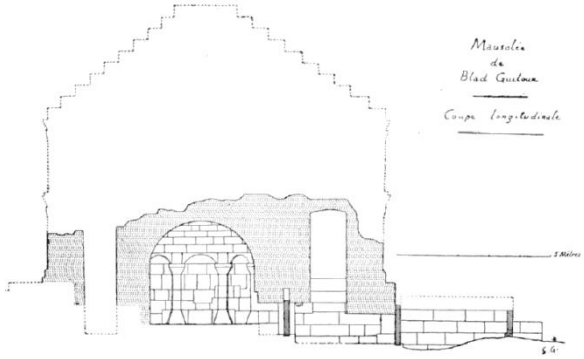
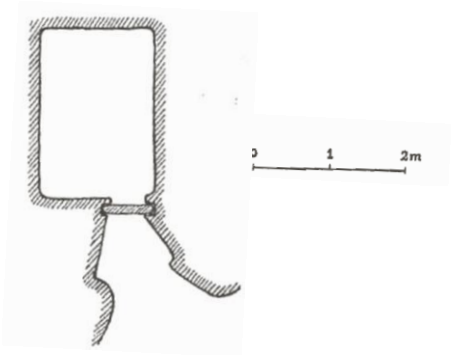
Mound with stone circle and steles	M'zora Morocco		Reygasse (1950), 13, Fig.13.
Mound	Sidi Allal el Bahraoui Morocco		Camps (1961), 80, Fig.9.
Stone circle with underlying cist grave	Ouisert Algeria		Camps (1961), 85, Fig.10.
Stone circle with concentric rings	Djebel Recheïga Algeria		Camps (1961), 87, Fig.11.

Antennae tomb	Tin Abunda Libya		Mattingly and Edwards (2003), 202, Fig.6.27.
Bazina with Arms	Wadi Ouerk Algeria		Camps (1961), 174, Fig.63.
Key-hole tomb	Djanet Algeria		Google Earth, CNES/Airbus 2017, 7/15/2013
Uncovered dolmen	Bou Nouara Algeria		Camps (1991b), 6.

Engaged dolmen	Bou Nouara Algeria		Camps (1991b), 6.
Covered dolmen	Bou Nouara Algeria		Camps (1991b), 6.
Passage dolmen	Cap Cavallo Algeria		Camps (1961), 128, Fig.26.
Stepped bazina with south-eastern extension	Bordj Fedjfedj Algeria		Camps (1991a), 3.
Stepped bazina with sunken grave	Djebel Mistiri Algeria		Camps (1991a), 3.

Quadrilateral bazina	Ain el Hamara Algeria		Camps (1991a), 6.
Choucha	Djebel Kharouba Algeria		Camps (1961), 171, Fig.61.
Multi-chambered Choucha	Ouled Hannech Algeria		Camps (1961), 172, Fig.62.
Evolved megalithic tomb	Elles Tunisia		Camps (1961), 190, Fig.77.

Evolved megalithic tomb	Maktar Tunisia		Camps (1961), 192, Fig.78.
Chapel tumulus	Besseriani Algeria		Camps (1986), 153, Fig.2.
Chapel bazina	Taouz Morocco		Camps (1986), 153, Fig.2.

Ambulatory tumulus	Batna Algeria		Brunon (1874), Plate IX.
Djedar	Tiaret Algeria		Camps (1995a), 5.
Blad Guiton	Menerville Algeria		Gsell (1898), 483, Fig.2.
Hanout in a cliff	Gastel Algeria		Camps (1961), 98, Fig.15.

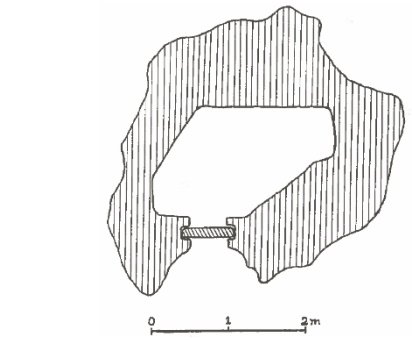
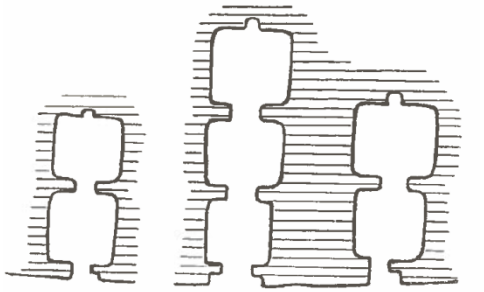
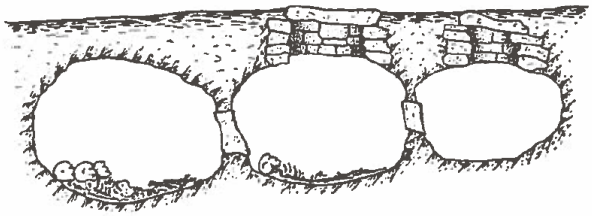
Hanout in an isolated rock	Kissa Algeria		Camps (1961), 16.
Multi-chambered hanout	El Harouri Tunisia		Camps (1961), 100, Fig.17.
Silo tomb	Trembles Algeria		Camps (1961), 20.

Table 3: The principles of mortuary variability (adapted from O'Shea (1984), 38, Table 3.1).

Principle 1	All societies employ some regular procedure or set of procedures for the disposal of the dead
Assumption	All humans die
Considerations	The treatment of foreign dead may differ from that of members of the society. Disposal may refer more to symbolic disposal that to the complete elimination of the physical remains from the community's life space Catastrophic death may cause a lapse in the normal disposal practices of a society

Principle 2	A mortuary population will exhibit demographic and physiological characteristics reflecting those of the living population
Assumption	Complete preservation and recovery of mortuary remains
Considerations	Specific cultural practices may systematically distort the demographic

	composition of a mortuary population Discontinuous use of a cemetery will underrepresent the size of the living population Mortuary sites used over a relatively brief period of time may emphasize short-term fluctuations at the expense of the underlying demographic parameters

Principle 3	Within a mortuary occurrence, each interment represents the systematic application of a series of prescriptive and proscriptive directives relevant to that individual
Principles 3a	The nature of the society will pattern and circumscribe the practices for the disposal of the dead
Principle 3b	The specific treatment accorded an individual in death will be consistent with the individual's social position in life
Assumption	A single set of cultural directives control the interment characteristics

Considerations	The total range of cultural directives relating to the disposal of various classes of individuals in any given mortuary occurrence may not be observed Drift may produce gradual change in disposal directives or in their manifestation The degree of idiosyncratic variation permitted in the disposal practices may vary widely from society to society

Principle 4	Elements combined within a burial context will have been contemporary in the living society at the time of interment (Worsaae's Law)
Assumptions	Burial is a single, brief event Burial represents a closed context
Considerations	The converse cannot necessarily be asserted because of nonchronological constraints on element occurrence

Table 4: Table of dolmen types found at Bou Nouara necropolis, Algeria (adapted from Camps (1991), 6).

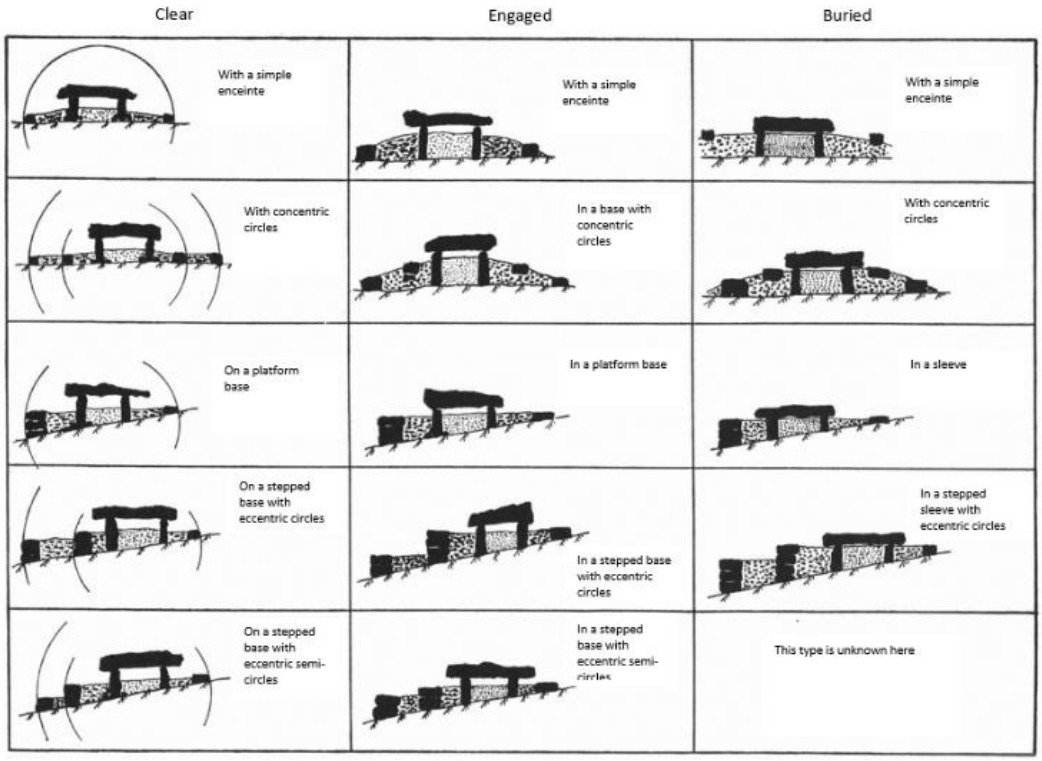
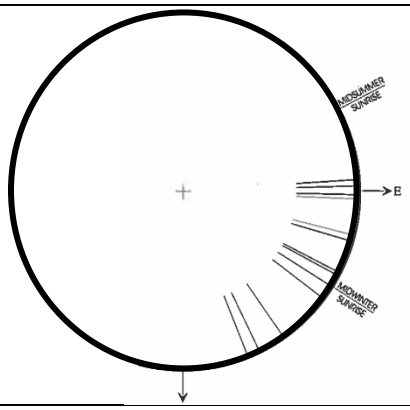
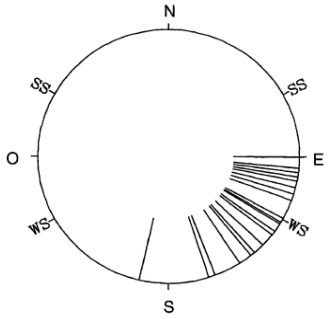
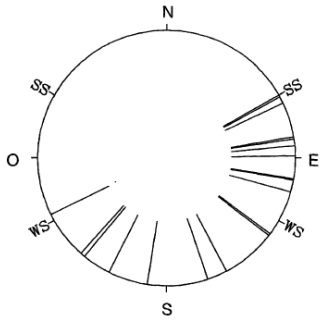
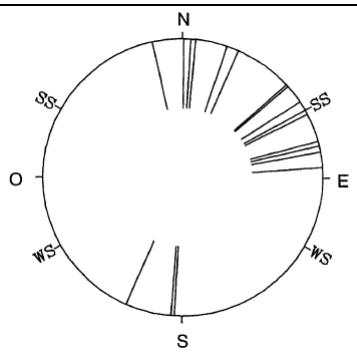
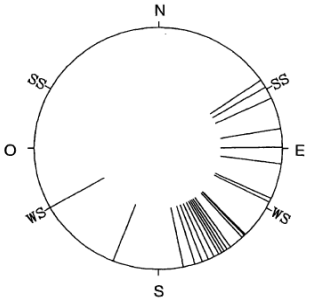
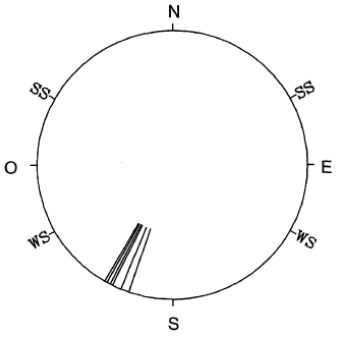
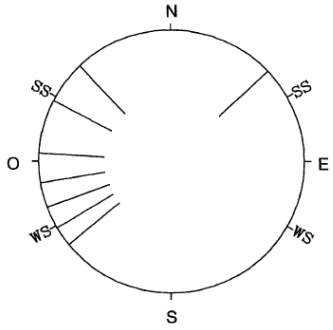
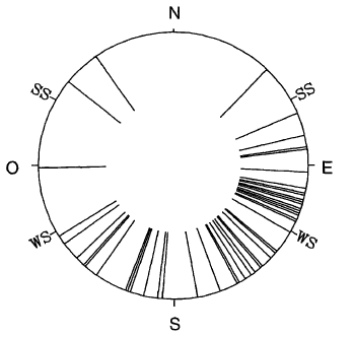
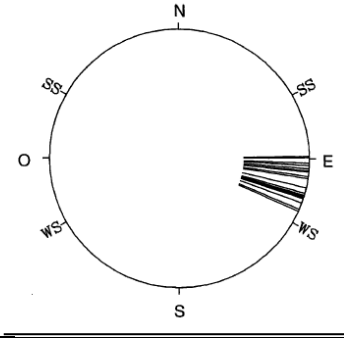
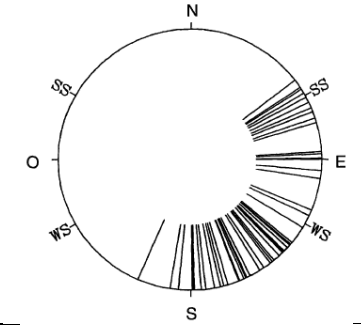
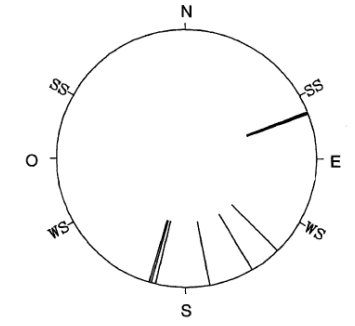
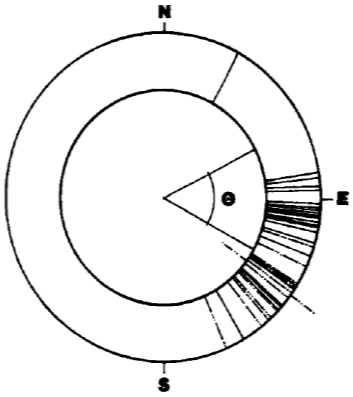
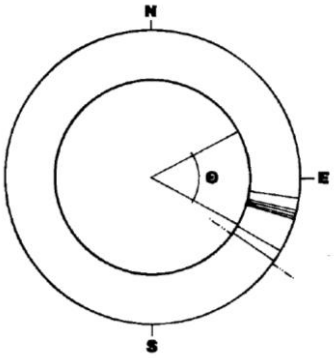
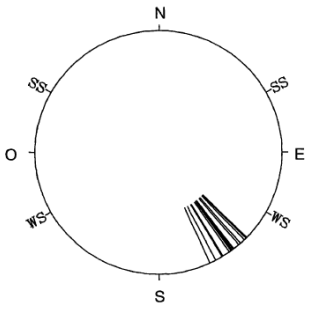


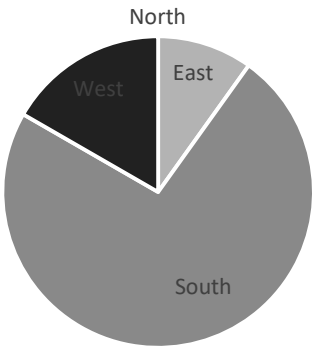
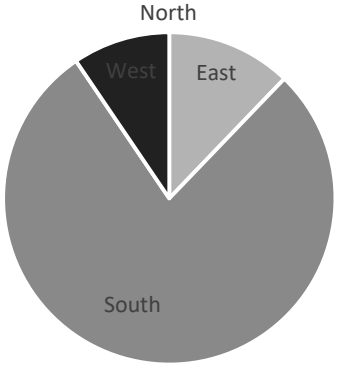
Table 5: Orientation diagrams of the megalithic tombs, pre-Roman temples, and Hellenistic period monuments of the ancient Maghreb.

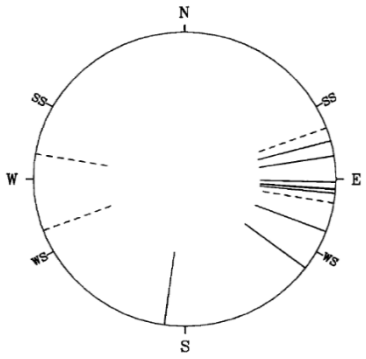
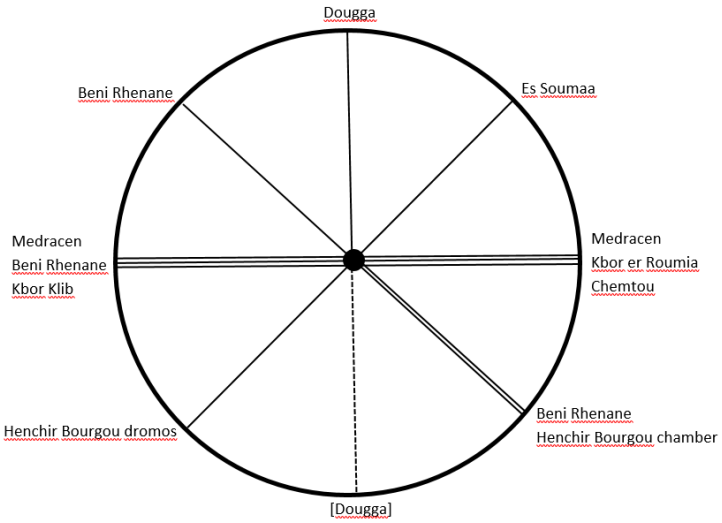
Location	**Orientaiton diagram**	**Source**
Beni messous Algeria		Adapted from Hoskin (2001), 209.
Chaouache cairns Tunisia		Belmonte et al. (1998), 13.
Chouache Haouanet Tunisia		Belmonte et al. (1998), 13.

El Guetma Tunisia		Belmonte et al. (1998), 13.
Ben Yasla Tunisia		Belmonte et al. (1998), 13.
Byrsa Tunisia		Belmonte et al. (1998), 19.
Bulla Regia Tunisia		Belmonte et al. (1998), 12.

Menzel Temine Tunisia		Belmonte et al. (1998), 19.
Utica Tunisia		Belmonte et al. (1998), 19.
Elles Tunisia		Belmonte et al. (1998), 12.
Maktar Tunisia		Belmonte et al. (1998), 12.

Foum al Rjam Morocco		Belmonte et al. (1999), 26.
Taouz Morocco		Belmonte et al. (1999), 26.
Dougga Tunisia		Belmonte et al. (1998), 1.

Roknia Tunisia		Data from Santucci and Khoumeri (2008), 70 – 71.
Djebel Mazela Algeria		Data from Santucci and Khoumeri (2008), 70 – 71.
Tamanrasset and Djanet Keyhole monuments Algeria		

Pre-Roman temples Tunisia		Esteban et al. (2001), 74.
The Hellenistic Period Tombs		

Figures

Fig.1.1. The Chemtou Horseman, Hellenistic Period, Quinn (2013), 202. Not to scale.

Fig.1.2. Coin of a Numidian king, either Massinissa or Micpisa, with a horse on the reverse, Quinn (2013), 195. Not to scale.

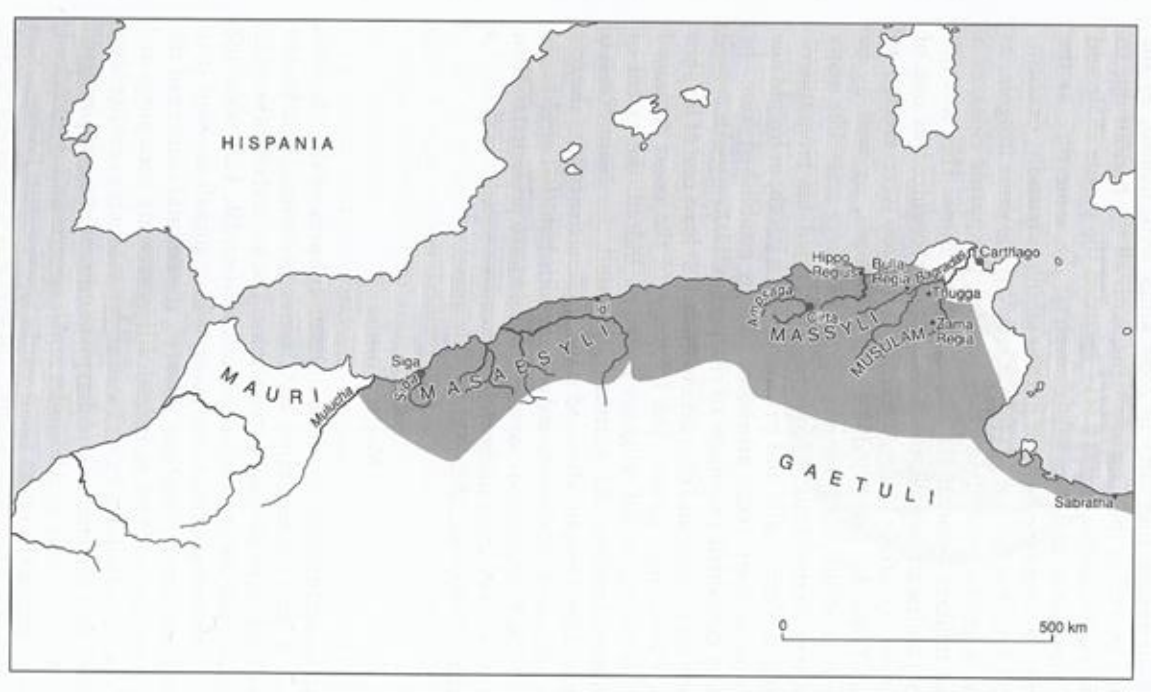
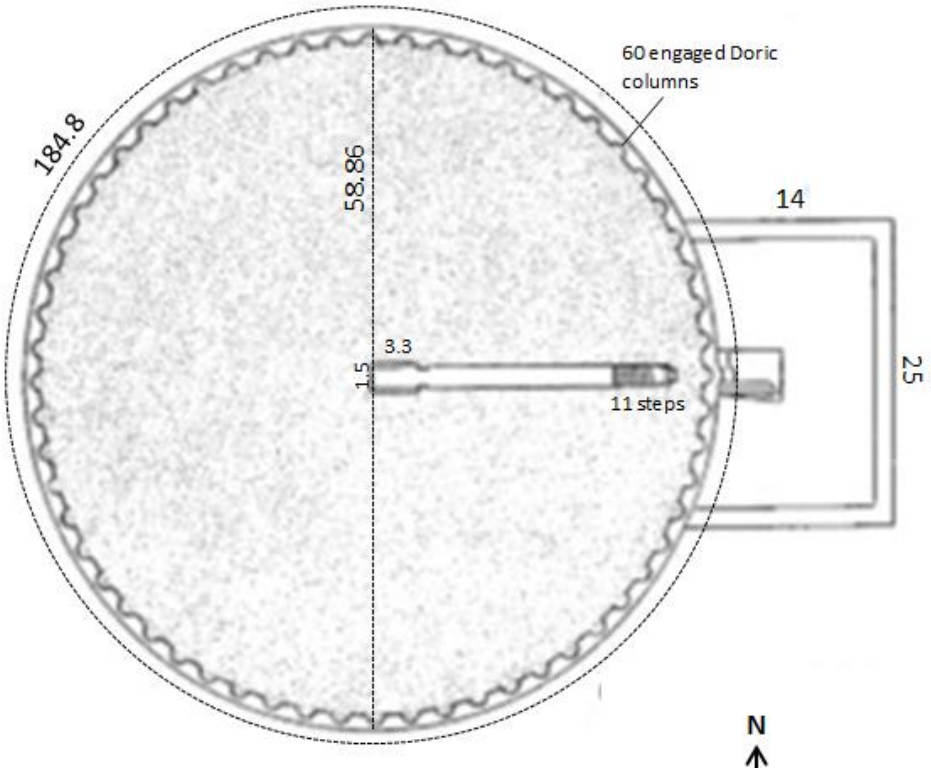


Fig.1.3. Map showing the traditional regions of the indigenous kingdoms by 148 BCE, Brett and Fentress (1997), 28, Map 1.2.

Fig.2.1. The Medracen tumulus (east side) (Boumia, Algeria), photo by author (October 2017).

Fig.2.2. The weathered Egyptian gorge and Doric columns of the Medracen (south east side) (Boumia, Algeria), photo by author (October 2017).



Height = 18.5m
Top platform = 11.4m
Cone = 23 steps
Volume = c. 24 500m^3

All measurements are in meters.

Fig.2.3. The floorplan and dimensions of the Medracen tumulus. Base image adapted from Rakob (1979), 136. Measurements from Camps (1973), 479; Quinn (2013), 185 & note 19; Gsell (1929b), 263; Mackendrick (1980), 190 – 191; Rakob (1979), 132 – 134.

Fig.2.4. Smaller tombs to the east of the Medracen (Boumia, Algeria), photo by author (October 2017).

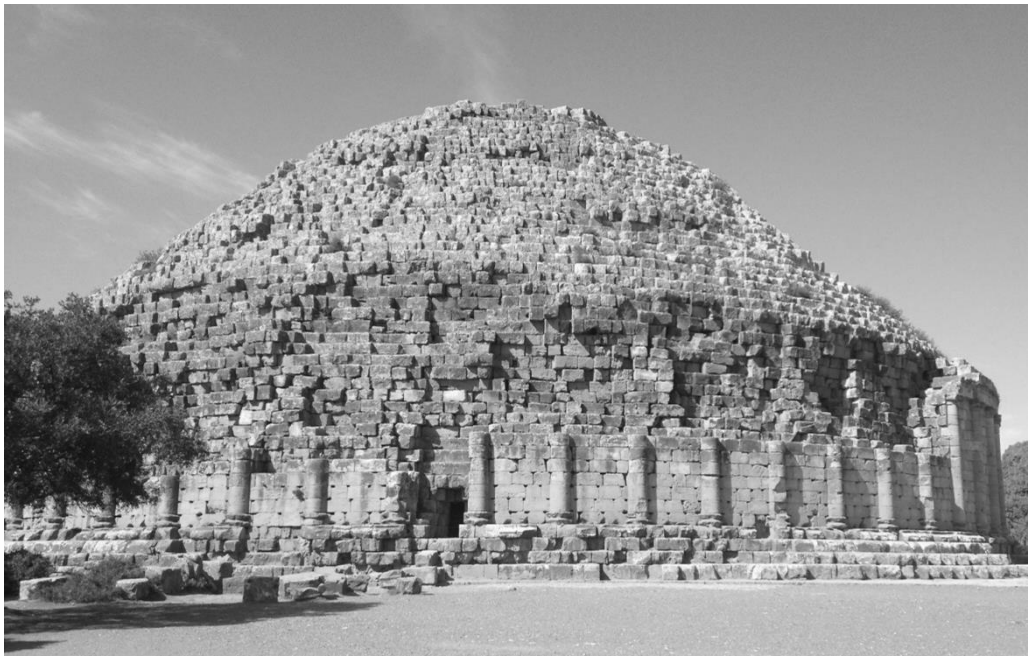


Fig.2.5. The Kbor er Roumia tumulus (south side) (Tipasa, Algeria), photo by author (October 2017).

Fig.2.6a. North false door of the Kbor er Roumia tumulus (Tipasa, Algeria), photo by author (October 2017).

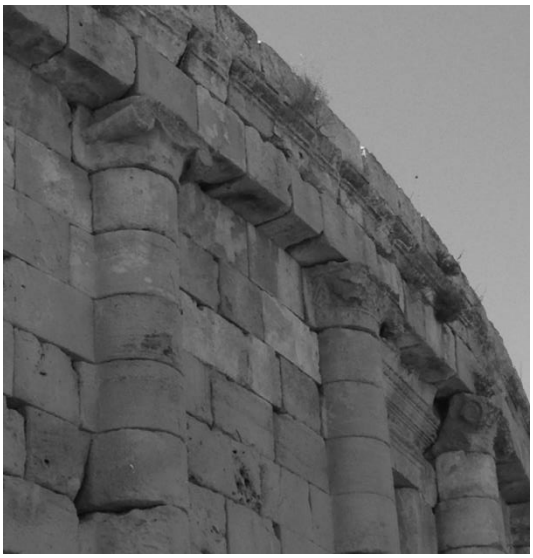
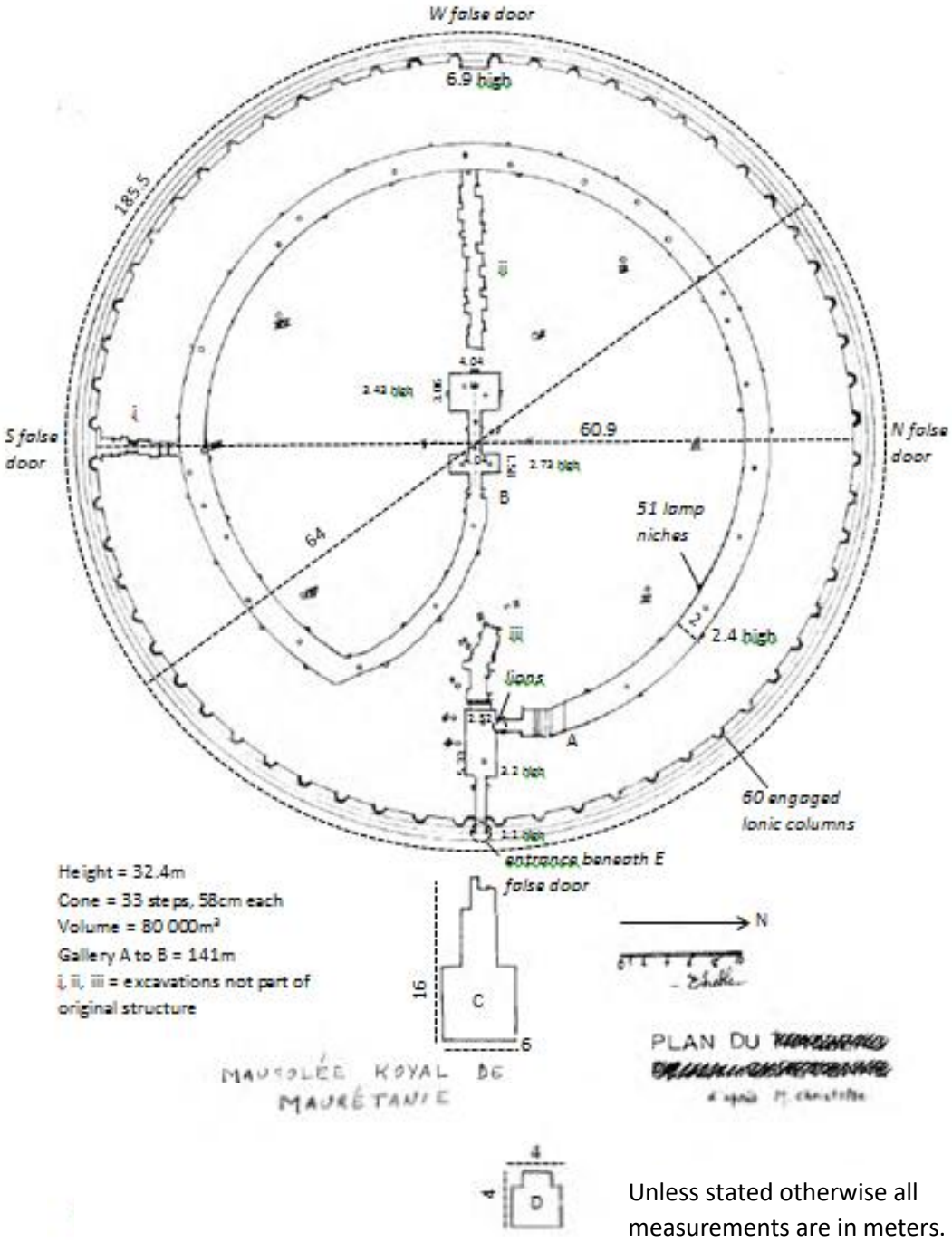


Fig.2.6b. Ionic columns below a cyma recta cornice (east side) (Tipasa, Algeria), photo by author (October 2017).

Fig.2.7. A lioness and lion carved in relief above the entrance to the gallery in the Kbor er Roumia tumulus (Tipasa, Algeria), Christofle (1951), 124.



Unless stated otherwise all measurements are in meters.

Fig.2.8. Floorplan of the Kbor er Roumia tumulus. Base image adapted from Bouchenaki (1979), 21. Measurements from Bouchenaki (1979), 9 & 15.

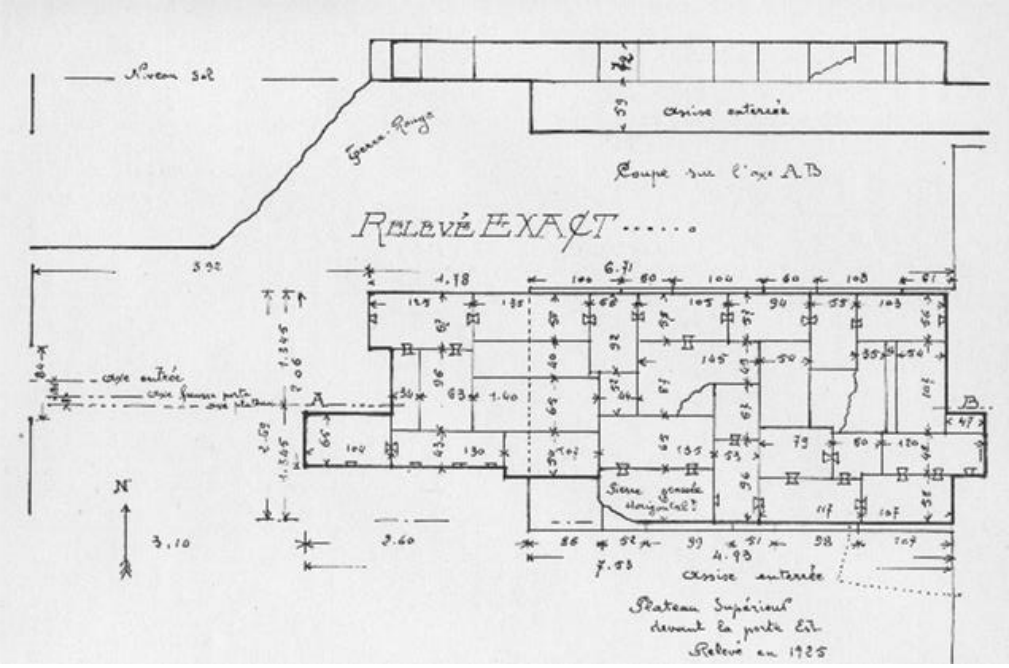


Fig.2.9. Elevation and plan of the platform (C in Fig.2.8) in front of the entrance to Kbor er Roumia, Christofle (1951), 113.

Fig.2.10. A Djedar in Tiaret, Algeria, Skyscrapper City (2015).

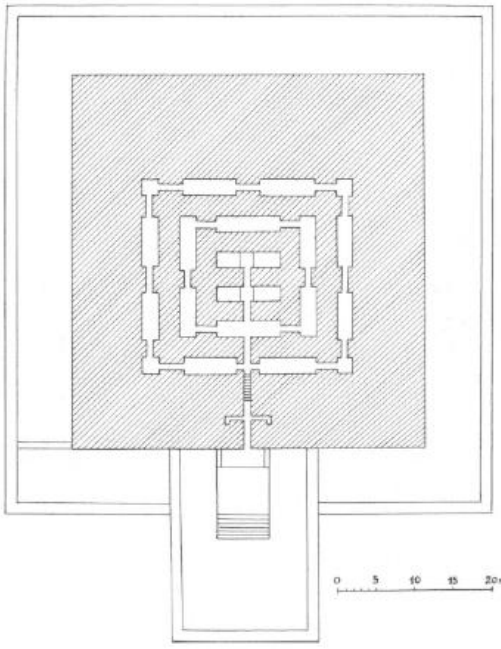


Fig.2.11. Floorplan of Djedar F showing the numerous interlinked chambers within, Benseddik and Camps (2001), 8.

Fig.2.12. The reconstructed Dougga tower tomb (north east corner) (Dougga, Tunisia), photo by author (May 2018).

Fig.2.13. Possible evidence for rope drag at the lower northern entrance of the Dougga tower tomb (Dougga, Tunisia), photo by author (May 2018).

Fig.2.14. Quadriga and riders on the Dougga tower tomb (east side) (Dougga, Tunisia), photo by author (May 2018).

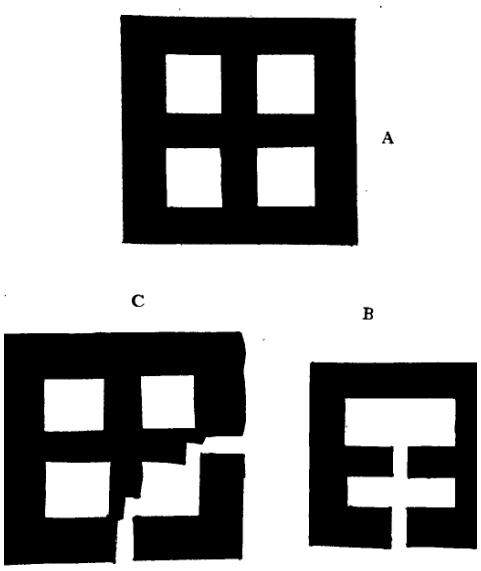


Fig.2.15. Plan of the burial chambers within the Dougga tower after the drawing by Count Camille Borgia in the early 19th century, Picard (1973), 34.

A –first floor
B – second floor
C – third floor

Not to scale, however, scaled to each other.

Fig.2.16. The reverse of a coin from Sidon minted between 342 and 339 BCE depicting a quadriga, Quinn (2013), 183. Not to scale.

Fig.2.17. The reverse of a coin from Rome showing Jupiter riding a quadriga, 225 – 212 BCE, Quinn (2013), 183. Not to scale.

Fig.2.18. The Chieftain Stele from Grand Kabylie, 3rd or 2nd century BCE, Quinn (2013), 202 – 203. Not to scale.

Fig.2.19. Detail from north side of the Harpy Monument at Xanthos, Draycott (2008), 153. Not to scale.

Fig.2.20. Sirens and lion topping the Dougga tower tomb (Dougga, Tunisia), photo by author (May 2018).

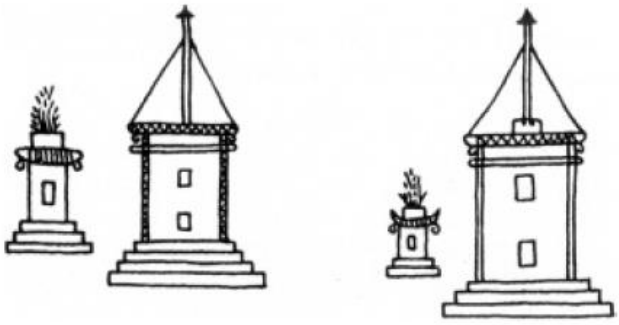


Fig.2.21. Punic graffiti from Djebel Mlezza tombs, Quinn (2013), 189. Not to scale.

Fig.2.22. The bilingual Libyc and Punic inscription from the Dougga tower tomb, Quinn (2013), 180. Not to scale.

Fig.2.23. The Dougga tower tomb as drawn by Bruce in 1765 (Dougga, Tunisia), Prados Martínez (2008), 151. Not to scale.

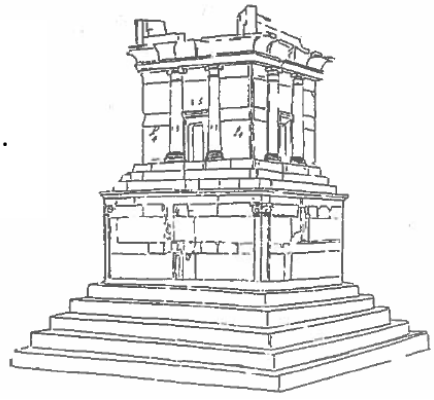


Fig.2.24. The state of the Dougga tower prior to reconstruction in 1908 (Dougga, Tunisia), Quinn (2013), 180.

Fig.2.25. Megalithic necropolis at Dougga, Tunisia, photo by author (May 2018).

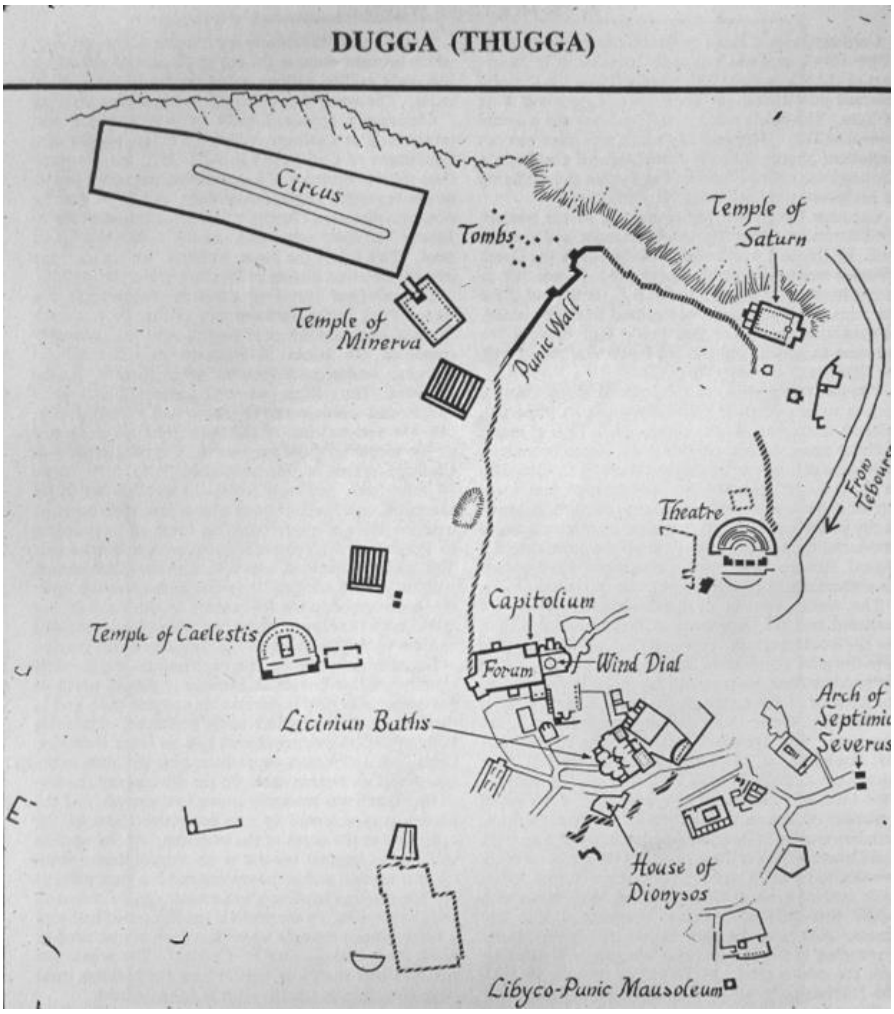


Fig.2.26. Plan of Roman *Thugga*. Note the placement of the Dougga tower (*Libyco-Punic Mausoleum*) in the south and the megalithic necropolis (*Tombs*) in the north, Schoder (2011). Unknown scale.

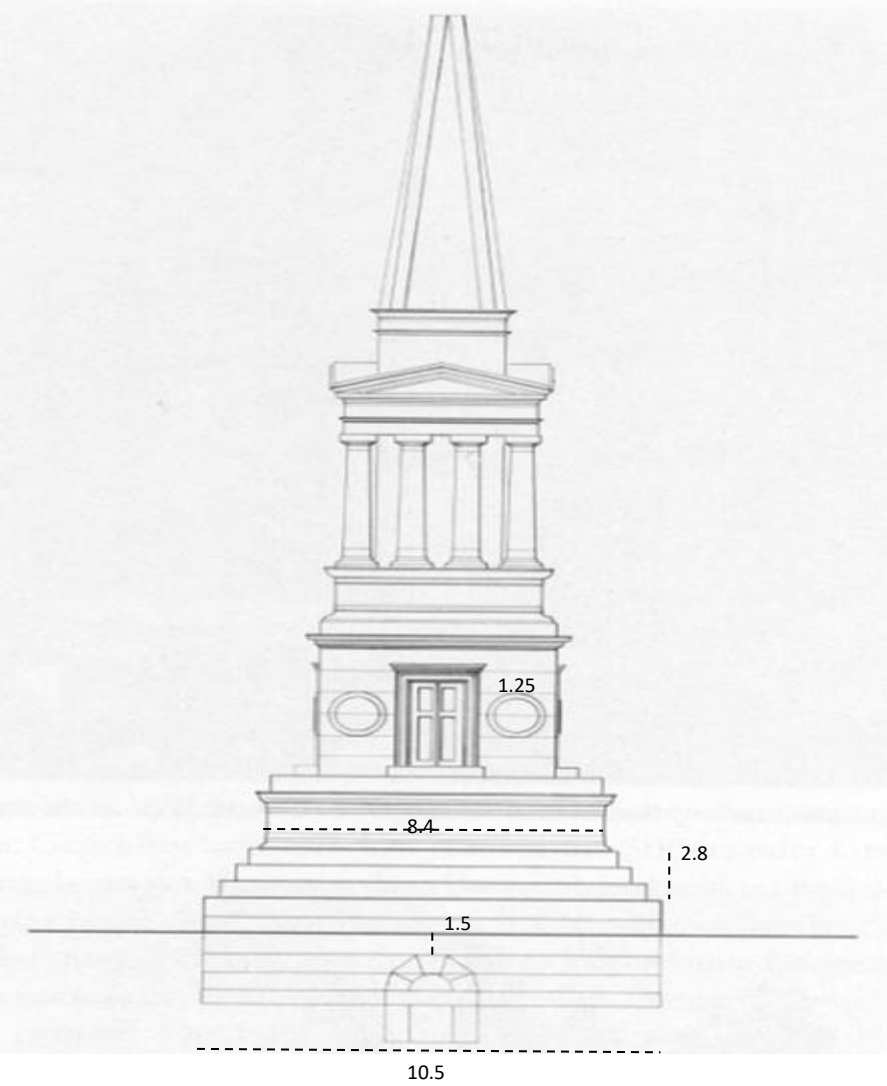


Fig.2.27. Reconstruction of Es Soumaa tower tomb (El Khroub, Algeria). All measurements, from Bonnell (1916), 171 – 173, are in metres. Base image adapted from Rakob (1979), 160.

Fig.2.28. The ruined remains of Es Soumaa showing shield-like elements (south west corner) (El Khroub, Algeria), photo by author (October 2017).

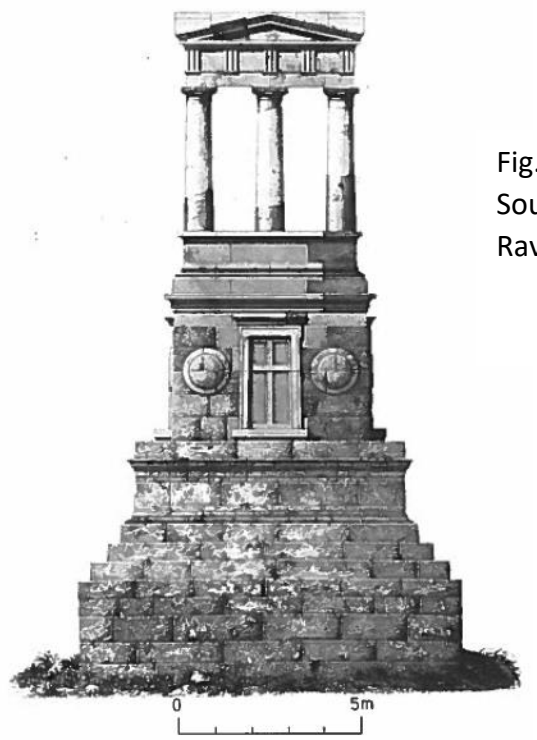


Fig.2.29. Reconstruction of Es Soumaa tower tomb by Ravoisié, Rakob (1979), 161.

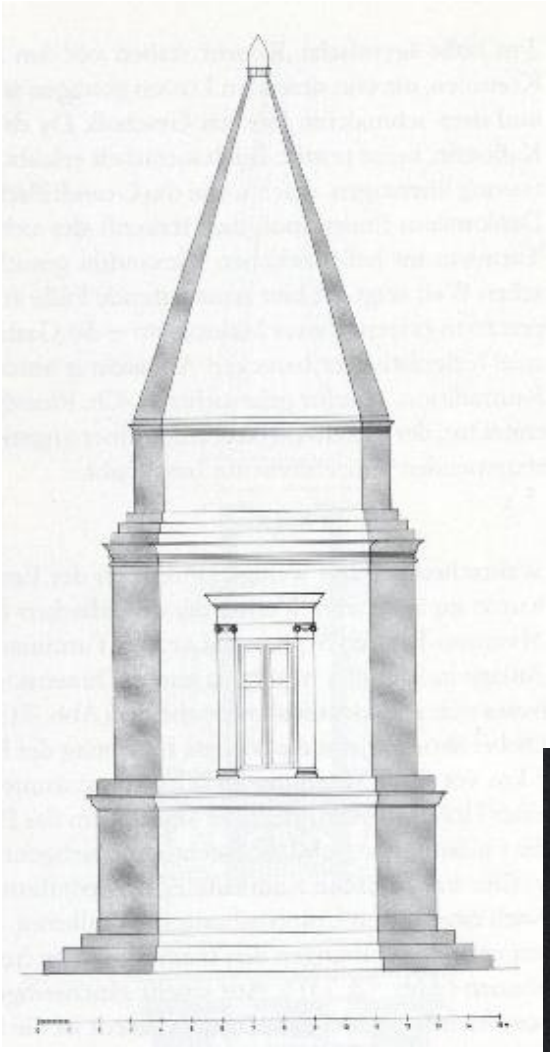


Fig.2.30.
Reconstruction of the Beni Rhenane tower tomb near Siga, Algeria, Rakob (1979), 150.

Fig.2.31. A model of the Beni Rhenane tower tomb showing the burial space below ground (Siga, Algeria), Rakob (1979), 150.

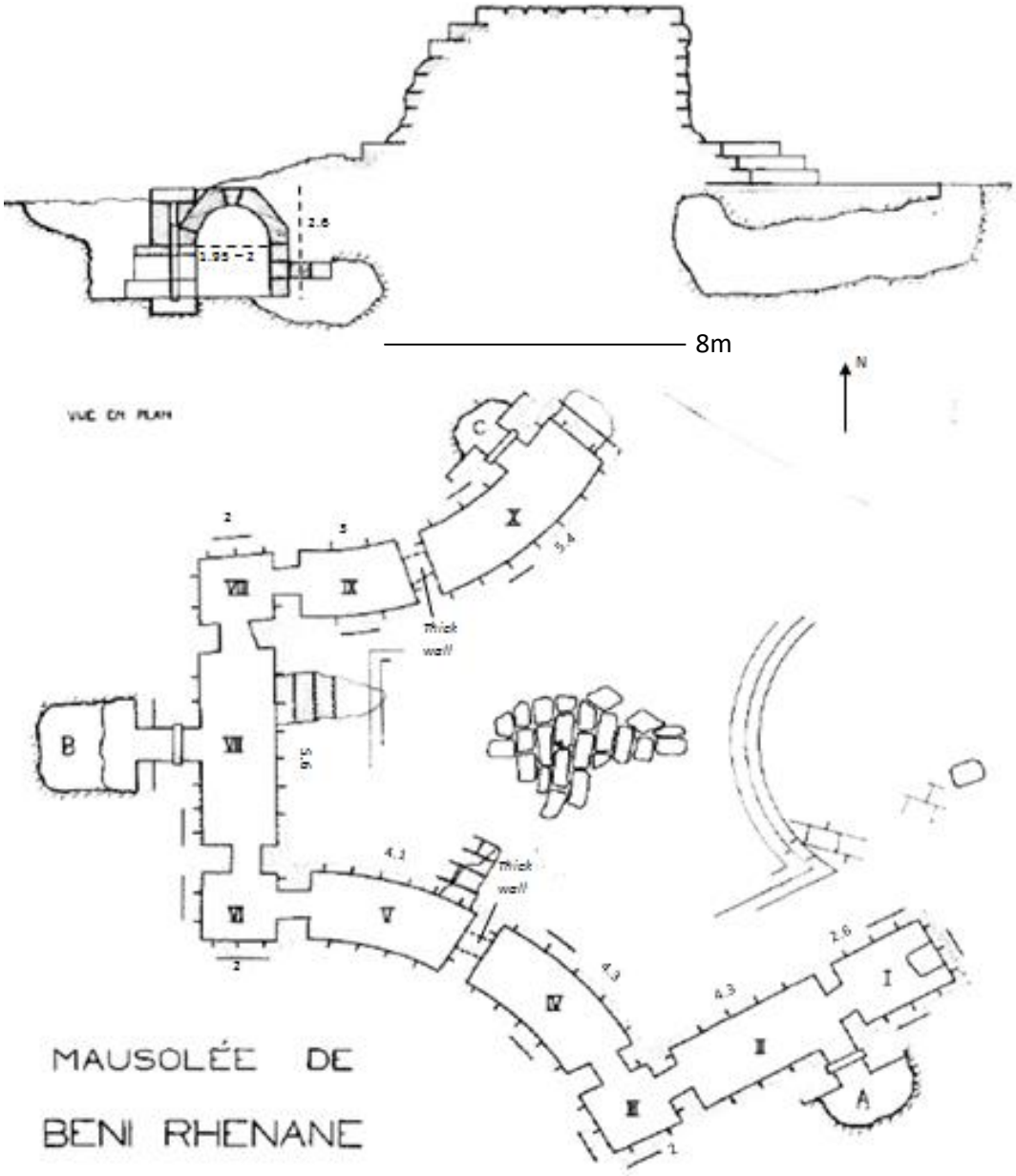


Fig.2.32. Plan of the burial chambers beneath Beni Rhenane (Siga, Algeria). Base image adapted from Vuillemot (1964), 81. All measurements, from Vuillemot (1964), 80 – 81, are in metres.

Fig.2.33. Female statue head found near Beni Rhenane (Siga, Algeria), travertine, Horn and Rüger (1979), 460 – 461. Not to scale.

Fig.2.34. Male statue head found near Beni Rhenane (Siga, Algeria), travertine, Horn and Rüger (1979), 458 – 459. Not to scale.

Fig.2.35. Al-Maghazel or the Spindels at the Phoenician cemetery at Amrit, Amrit-Syria (2005).

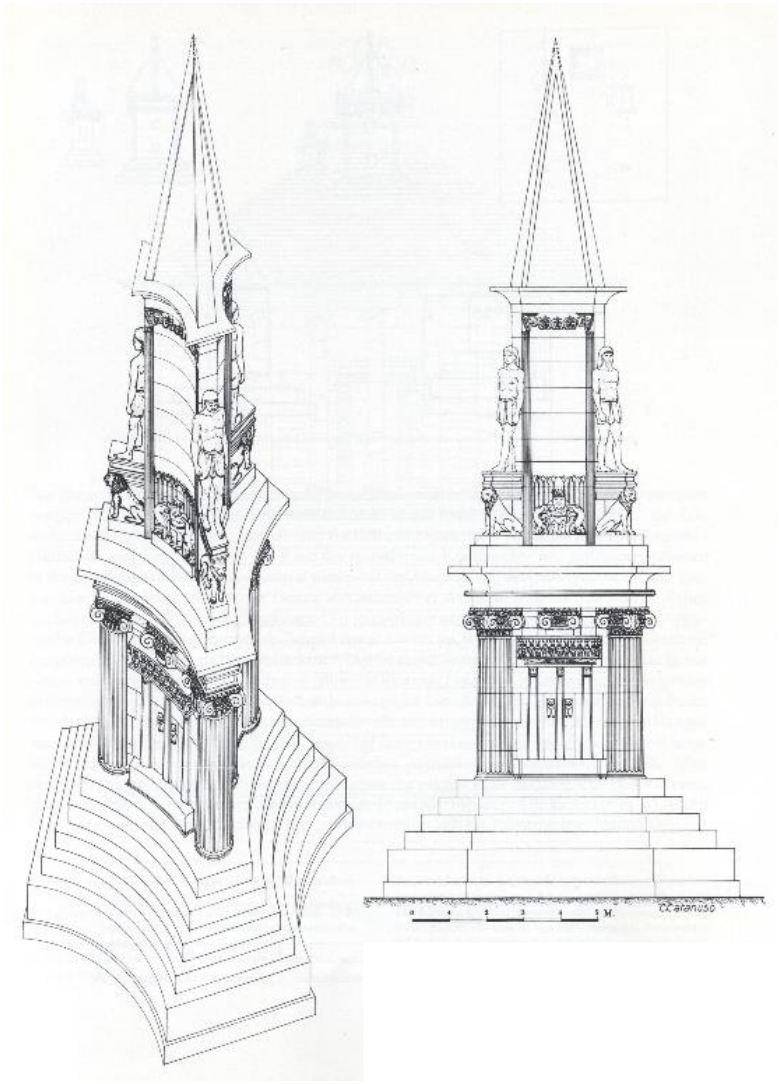


Fig.2.36. Reconstruction of Sabratha B tower tomb as drawn by C. Catanuso (Sabratha, Libya), Rakob (1979), 148.

Fig.2.37. Melqart dressed in a lion-skin and resting on a club, resembling Herakles, on a razor from the Sainte-Monique cemetary (Carthage), Lancel (1997), 206 – 207, Fig.109. Not to scale.

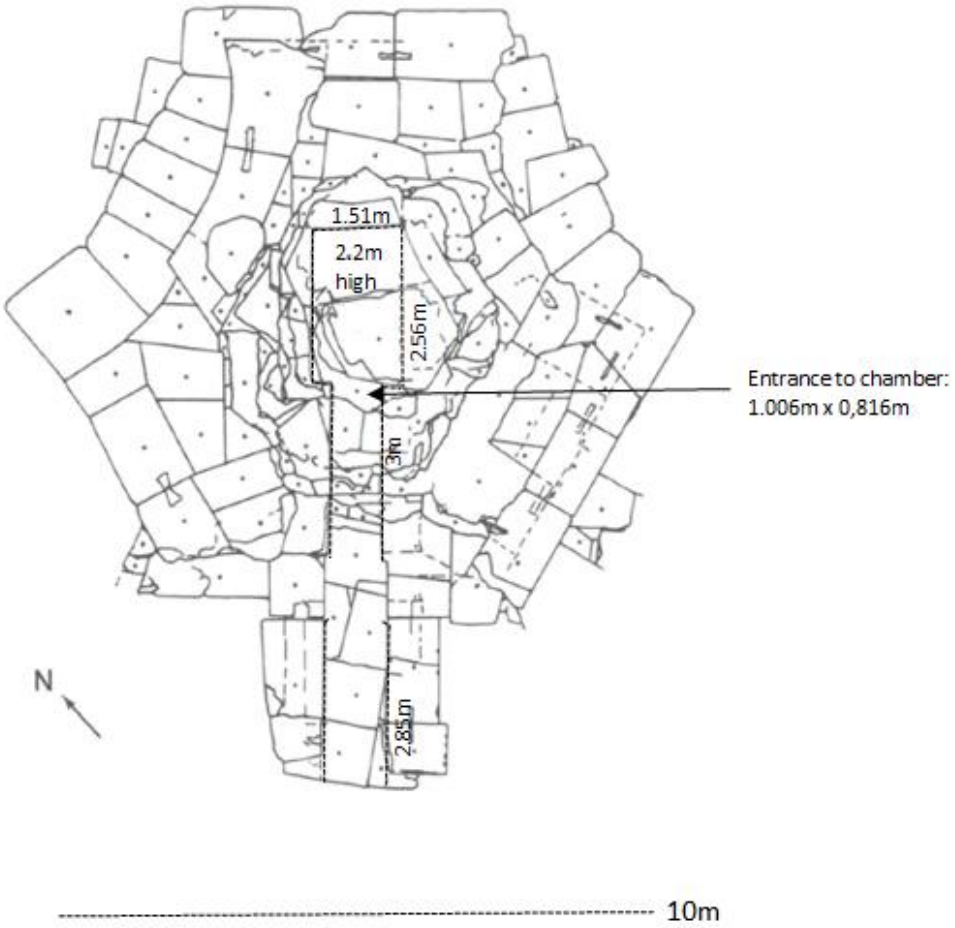


Fig.2.38. Floor plan of Henchir Bourgou (Djerba, Tunisia) showing the location of the dromos and chamber beneath. Base image adapted from Akkari-Weriemmi (1991), 3. All dimensions from Ferchiou (2009), 107 –

Fig.2.39. The ceiling detail from the chamber within Henchir Bourgou (Djerba, Tunisia), Akkari Weriemmi (1991), 3.

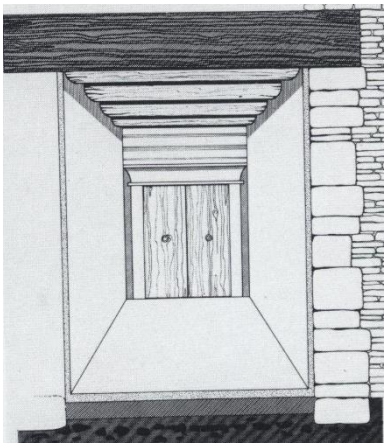


Fig.2.40. Reconstruction of the cedar beams at the Medracen (Boumia, Algeria), Rakob (1979), 136.

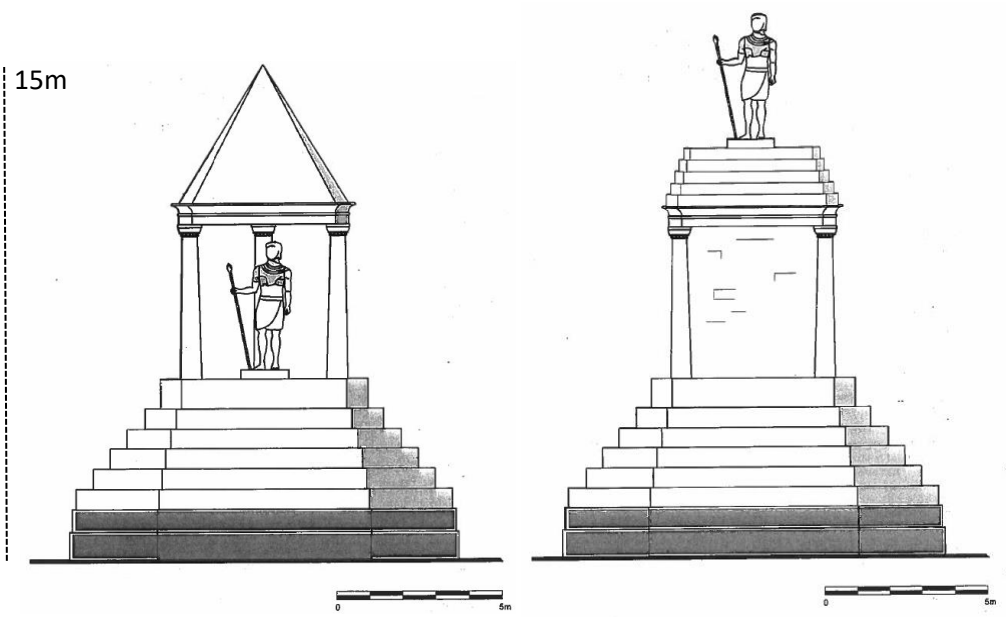


Fig.2.41. Two proposed reconstructions of Henchir Bourgou adapted from Ferchiou (2009), 119, 121.

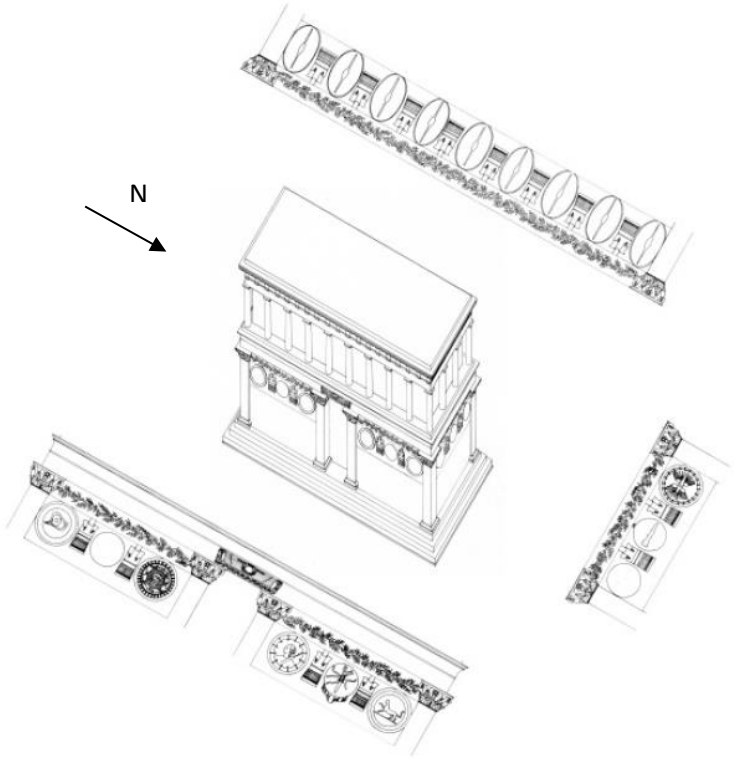


Fig.2.42. Reconstruction of the Chemtou peak monument showing the distribution of decorative elements (Chemtou, Tunisia), Kuttner (2013), 229. (North arrow added to original image). Not to scale.

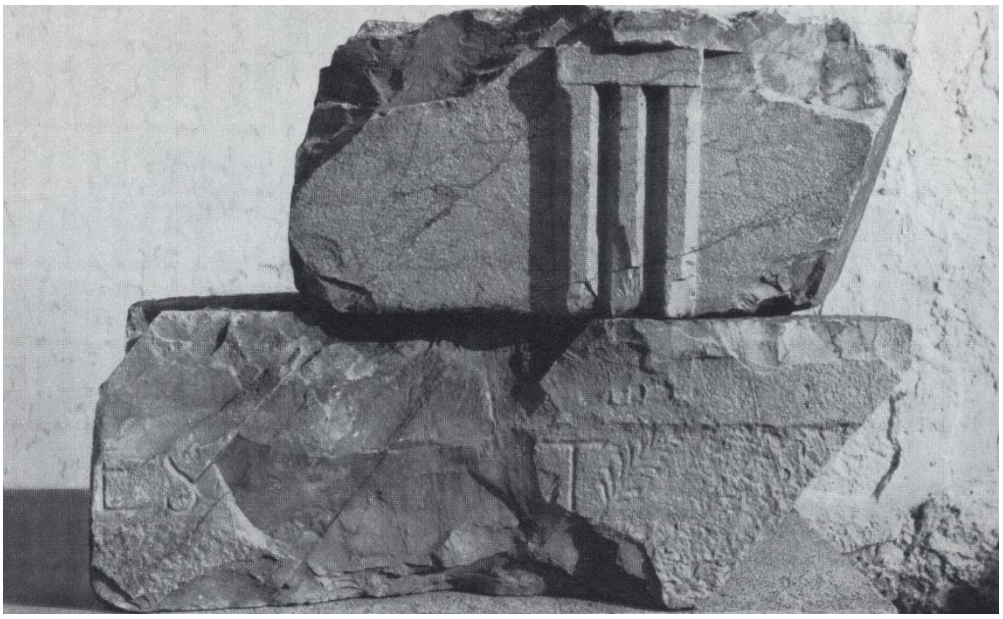


Fig.2.43. Remains of the inscription on the Chemtou peak monument, Rakob (1979), 128. Not to scale.

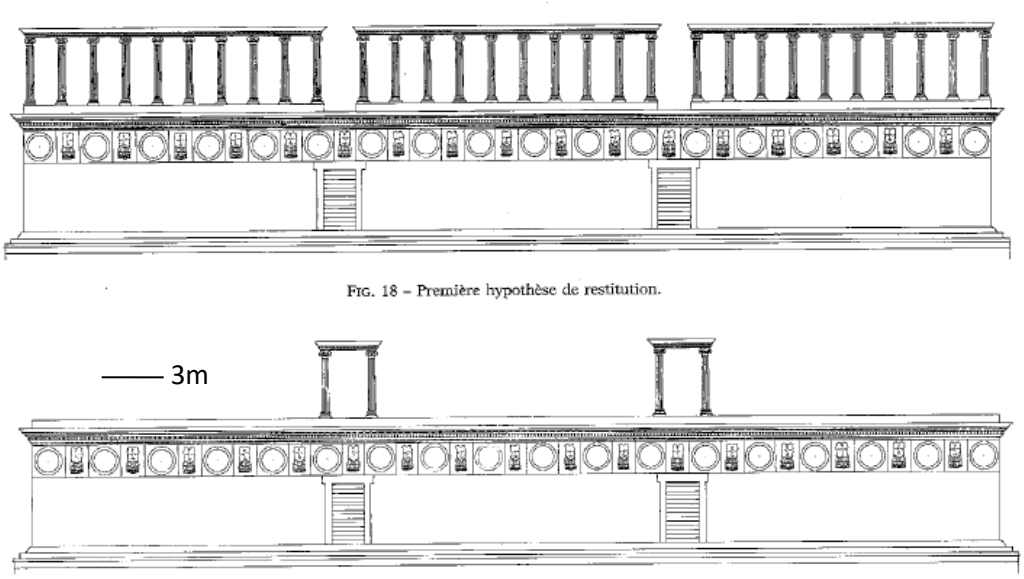


FIG. 18 – Première hypothèse de restitution.

Fig.2.44. Two proposed reconstructions of the Kbor Klib peak monument (Siliana region, Tunisia), adapted from Ferchiou (1991), 56.

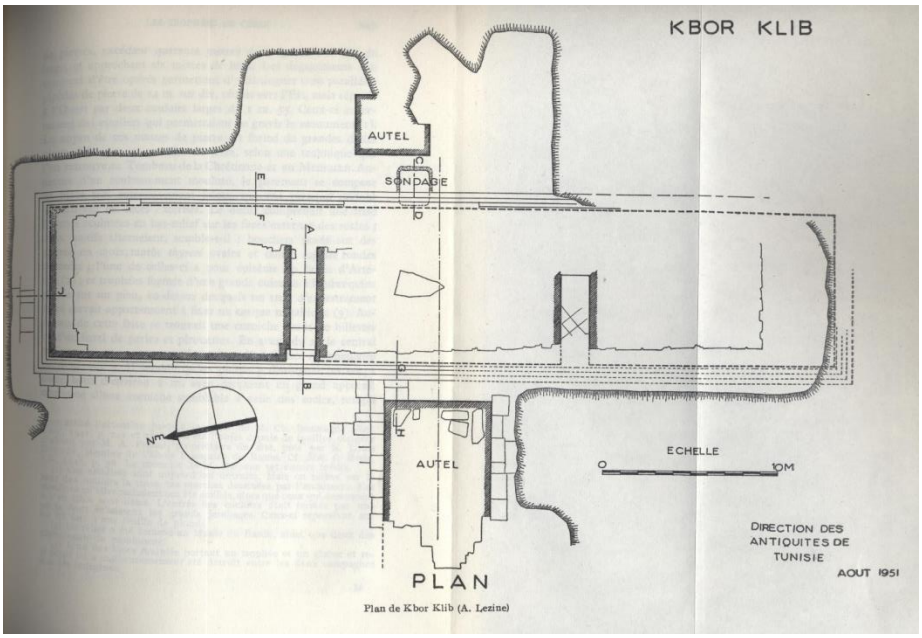


Fig.2.45a. Plan of the remains of the Kbor Klib peak monument with possible altars on either side (Siliana region, Tunisia), Picard (1957), unnumbered image opposite page 208.

Fig.2.45b. The remains of the east (left hand image) and west (right hand image) altars at the Kbor Klib monument (facing south) (Siliana region, Tunisia), photo by author (May 2018).

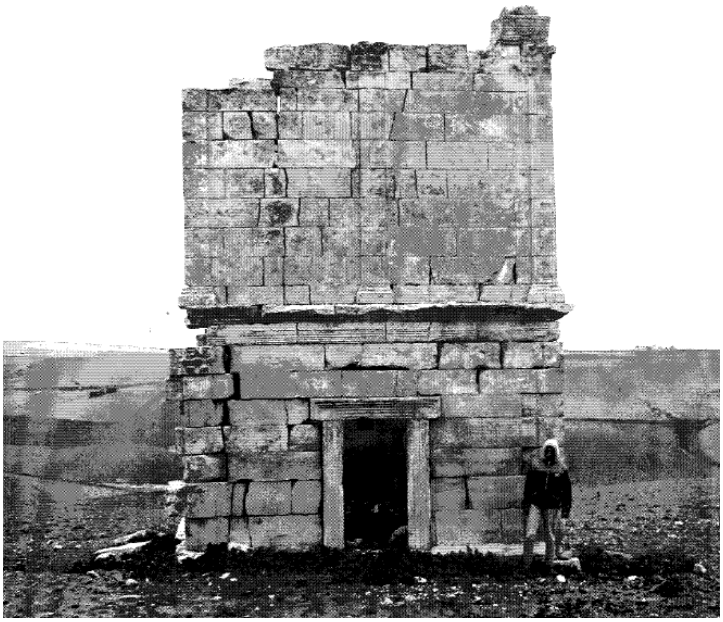


Fig.2.46. The Ksar Toual mausoleum (Siliana region, Tunisia), looking east, Ross (2005), 7.

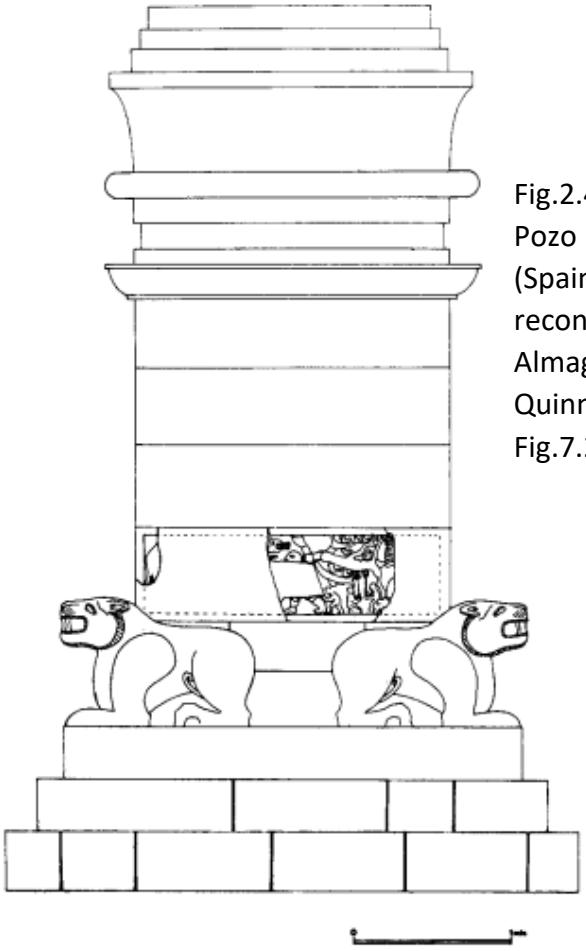


Fig.2.47. The Iberian Pozo Moro tower (Spain) as reconstructed by Almagro-Gorbea, Quinn (2013), 212, Fig.7.2.

Fig.3.1 Ochre motifs in the Sidi Mhamed Latrech haouanet (Tunisia), photo by author (May 2018).

Fig.3.2. Charioteer rock painting, Tassili n'Ajjer, Algeria, African Rock Art Image Project (no date), 2013,2034.4567.

Fig.3.3. Cattle rock engraving, Tassili n'Ajjer, Algeria, c.6000 – 5000 BCE, African Rock Art Image Project (no date), 2013,2034.4323.

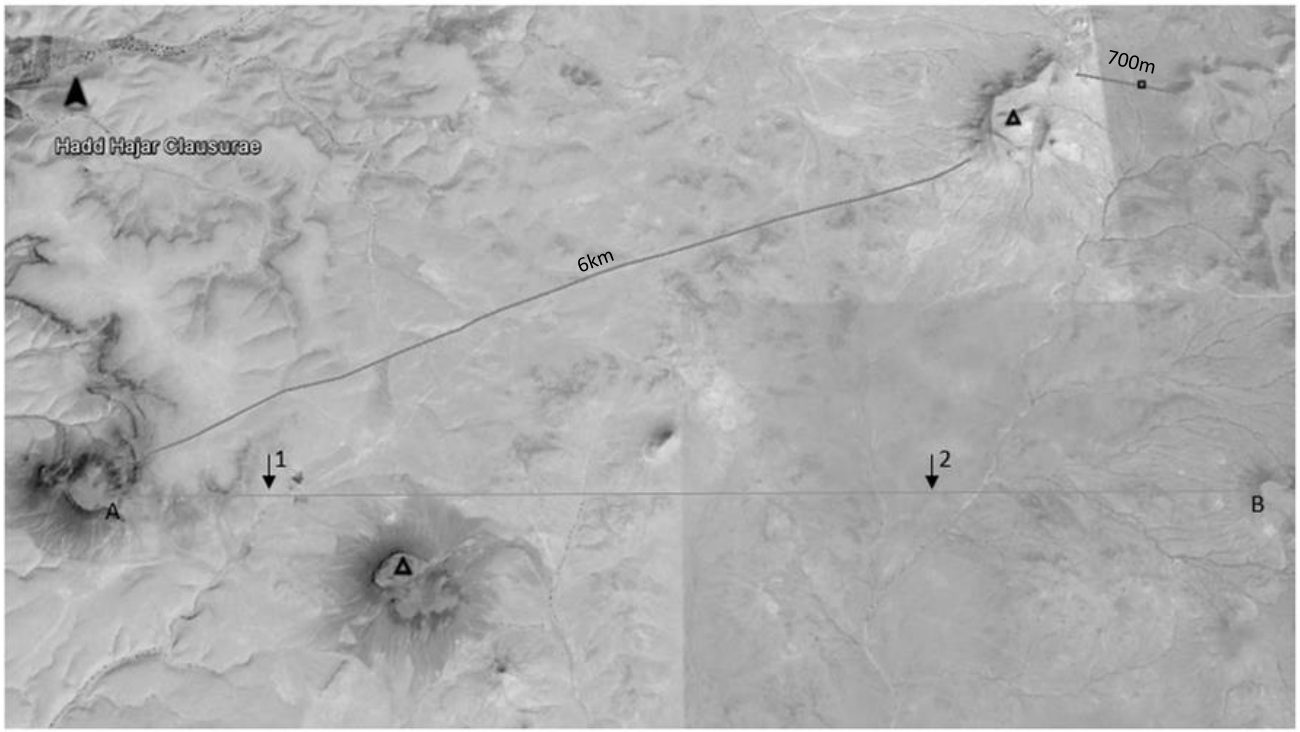


Fig.3.4. The Hadd Hajar *clausurae* in north western Libya as indicated by the two upper lines, with a gate (square) and two watch towers (triangles) associated with these walls. Arrows indicate the proposed routes taken by pastoral herders and the impact of the *clausurae* (Created in Google Earth).

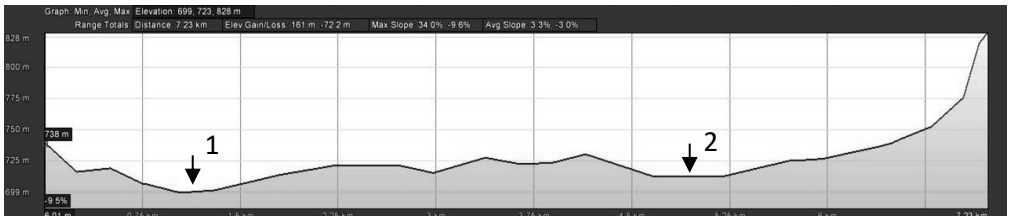


Fig.3.4a. The elevation profile from between points A and B along the lower line in Fig.3.4. The two arrows in indicate the paths (dotted lines) of least resistance for herders and travelers, Google Earth.

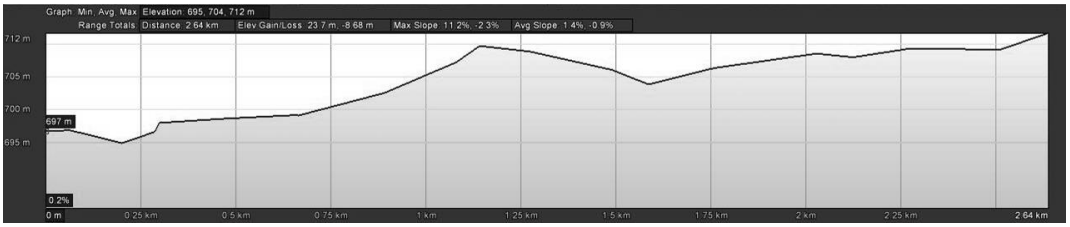


Fig.3.4b. Elevation profile of Path 1 in Fig.3.4, Google Earth.

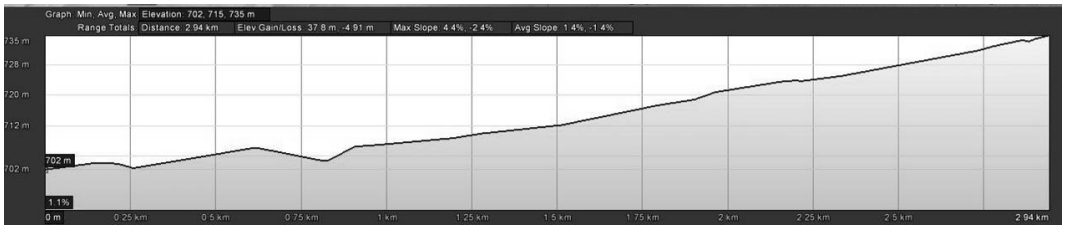


Fig. 3.4c. Elevation profile of Path 2 in Fig.3.4 offering a more gentle approach than Path 1, Google Earth.

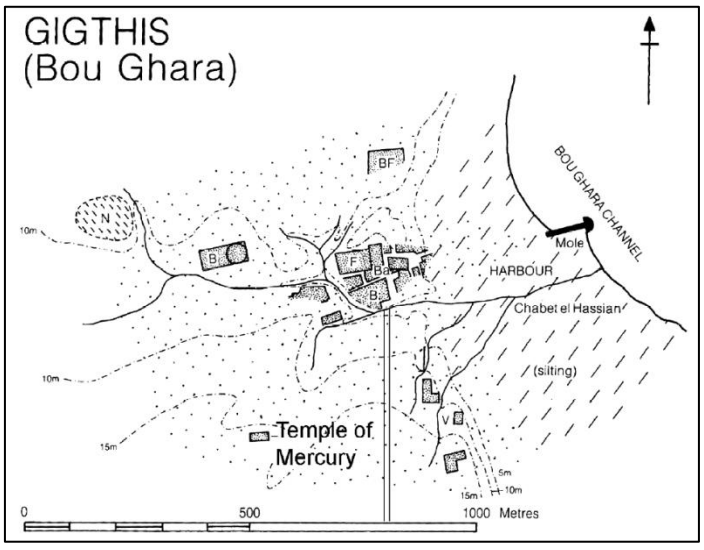


Fig.3.5. The Temple of Mercury located on a slope near a road to the south of Gigthis (Bou Ghrara, Tunisia), Fentress (2007), 133, Fig.8.3.

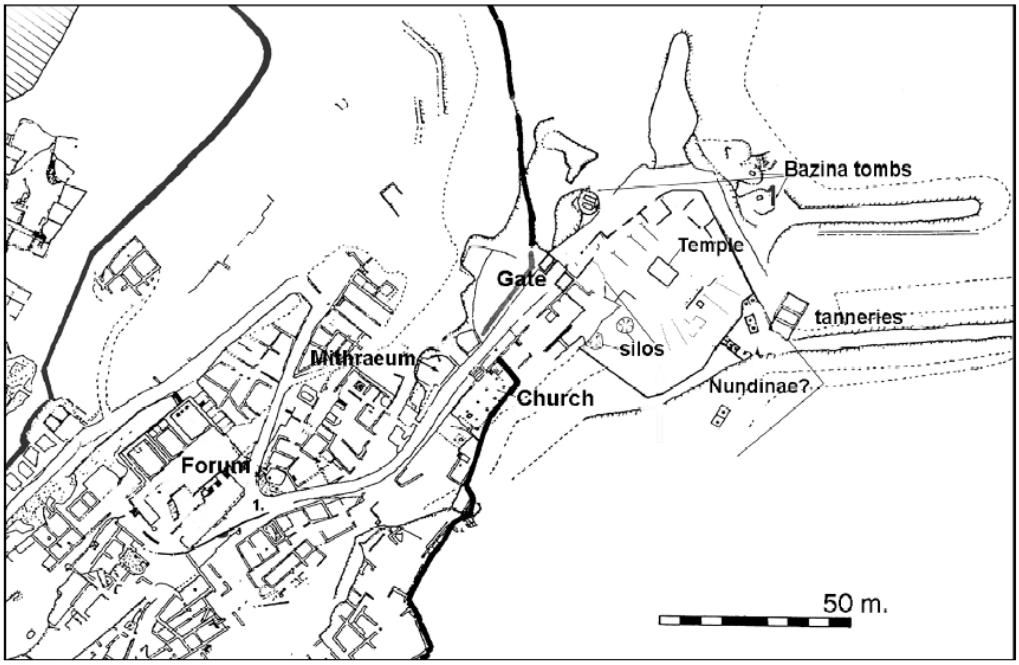


Fig.3.6. The possible location of the *nundinae* at Castellum Tidditanorum (Tiddis, Algeria), Fentress (2007), 136, Fig.8.5.

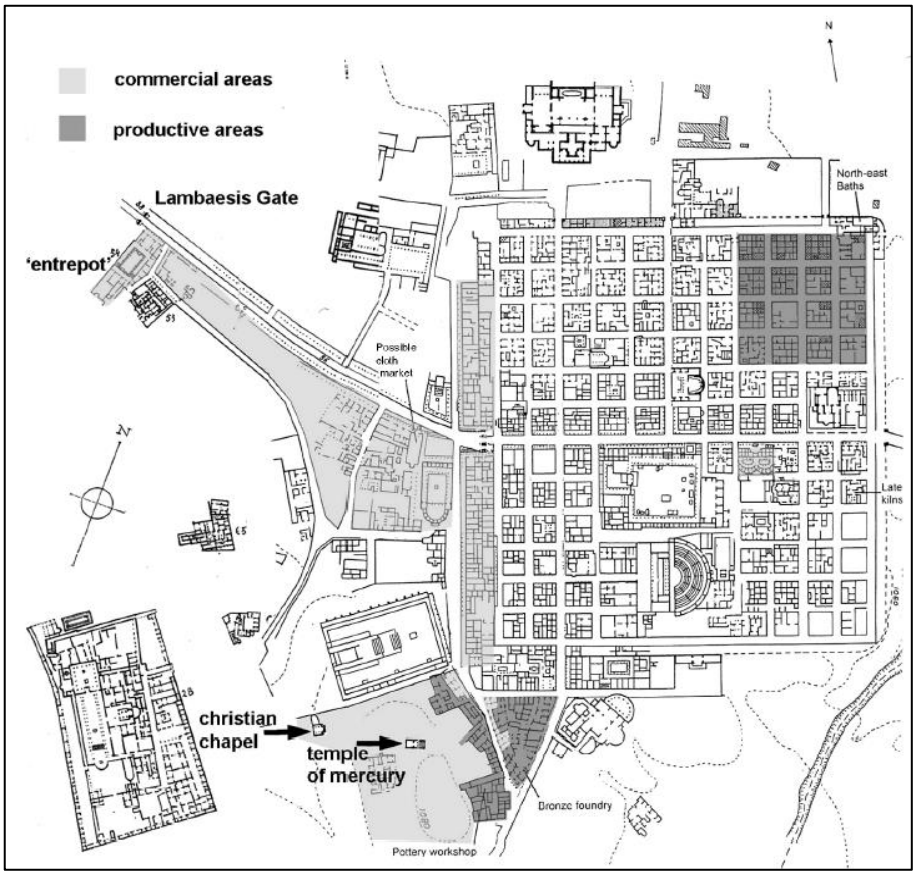
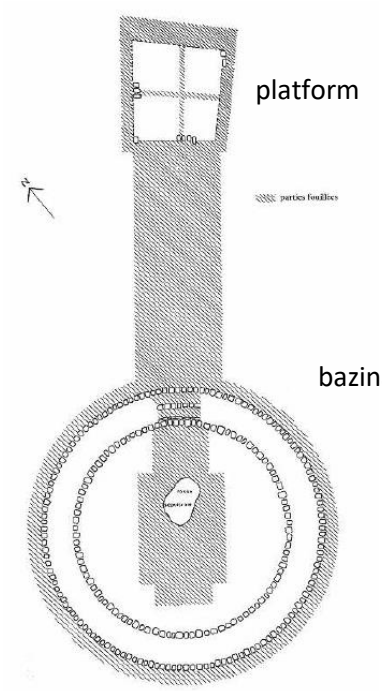


Fig.3.7. The proposed location of the *nundinae* at Timgad (Algeria), Fentress (2007), 138, Fig.8.7. Scale unknown.



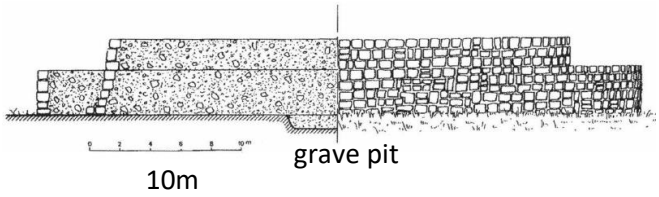


Fig.3.8. Souk Jamed el Gour monumental bazina (Meknes, Morocco), adapted from Camps (1999). Grey area indicates extent of excavations.

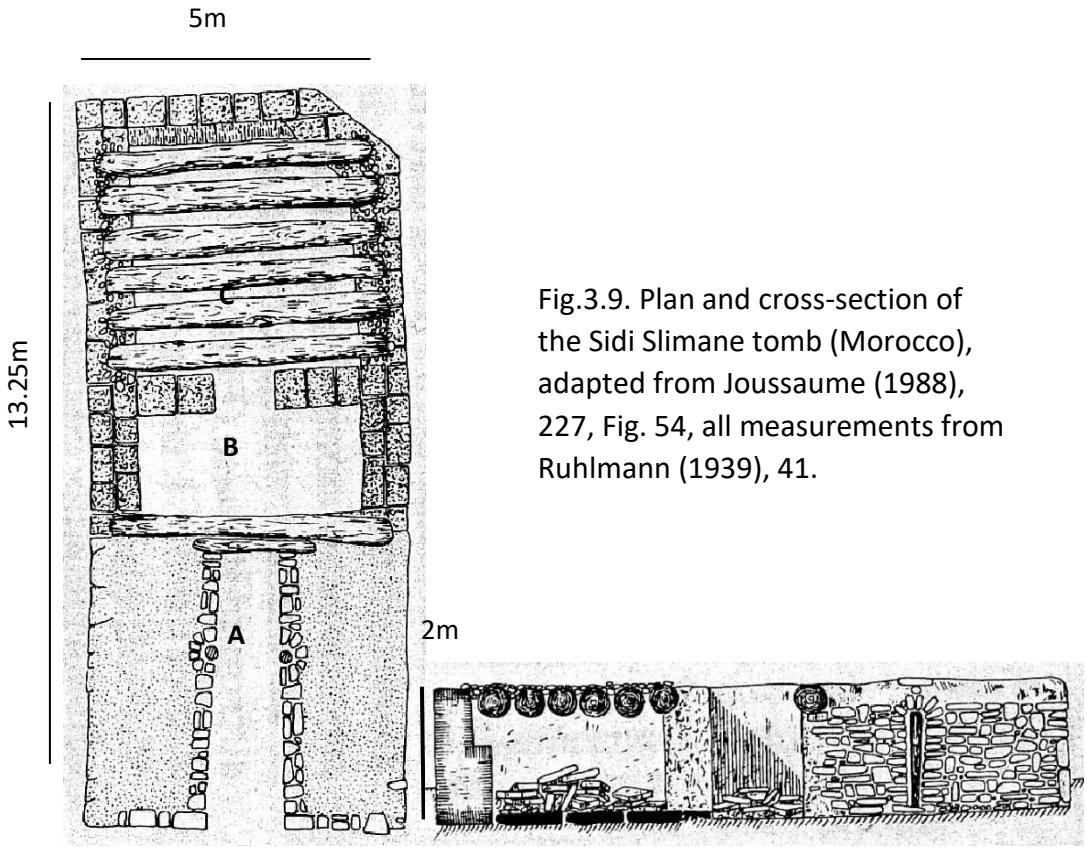


Fig.3.9. Plan and cross-section of the Sidi Slimane tomb (Morocco), adapted from Joussaume (1988), 227, Fig. 54, all measurements from Ruhlmann (1939), 41.

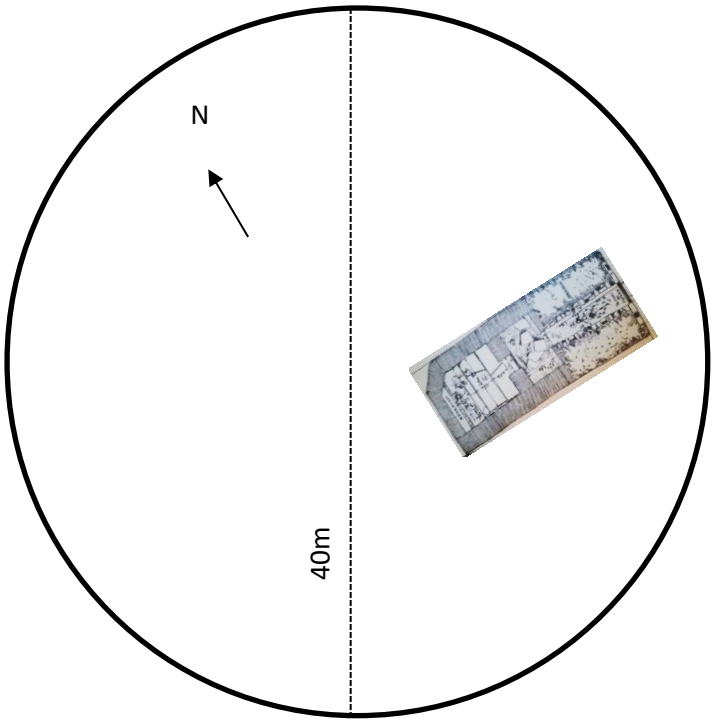


Fig.3.10. The location of the Sidi Slimane tomb within the tumulus, based on Ruhlmann (1939), 39, Fig.3 & 45, Pl.1.

Fig.3.11. The megalithic necropolis at Dougga (Tunisia) sits at the edge of a cliff to the north of the settlement, photo by author (May 2018).

Fig.3.12. The megalithic necropolis at Roknia (Algeria) sits at the edge of a cliff, photo by author (October 2017).

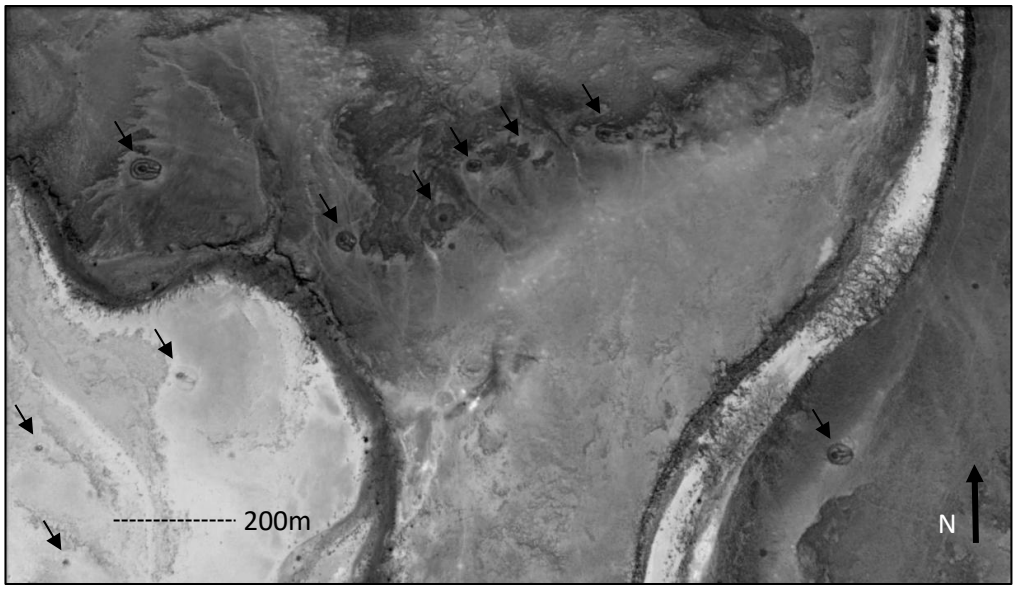


Fig.3.13. Keyhole monuments and tumuli (arrows) located near two wadis in Tamanrasset, Algeria (24°51'34.69"N 8° 1'27.72"E), made using Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, 7/4/2013.

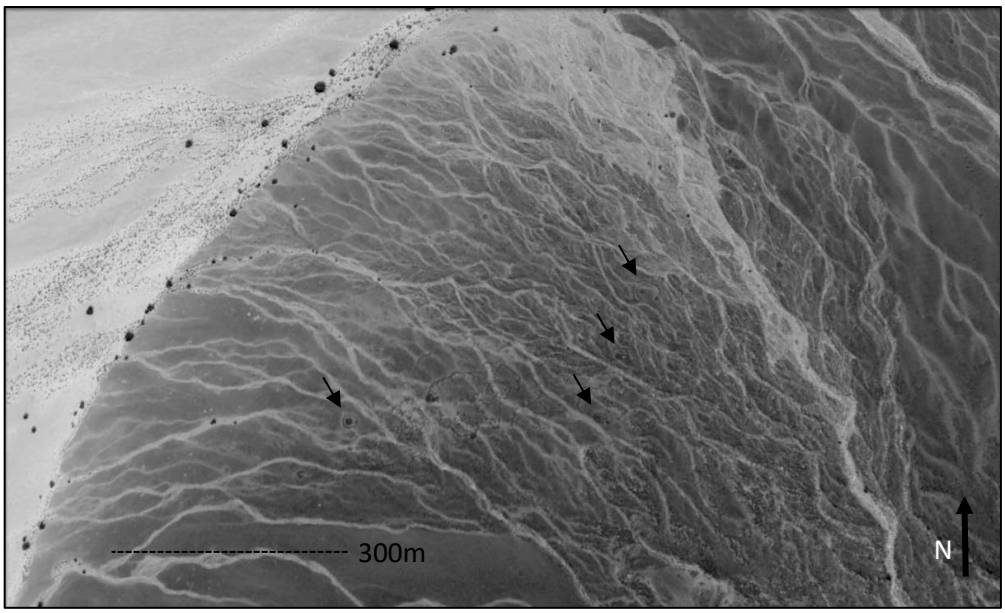


Fig.3.14. Keyhole monuments and tumuli located in a wadi plain in Tamanrasset (arrows), Algeria (24°46'50.65"N 8° 3'51.63"E), made using Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, 7/4/2013.

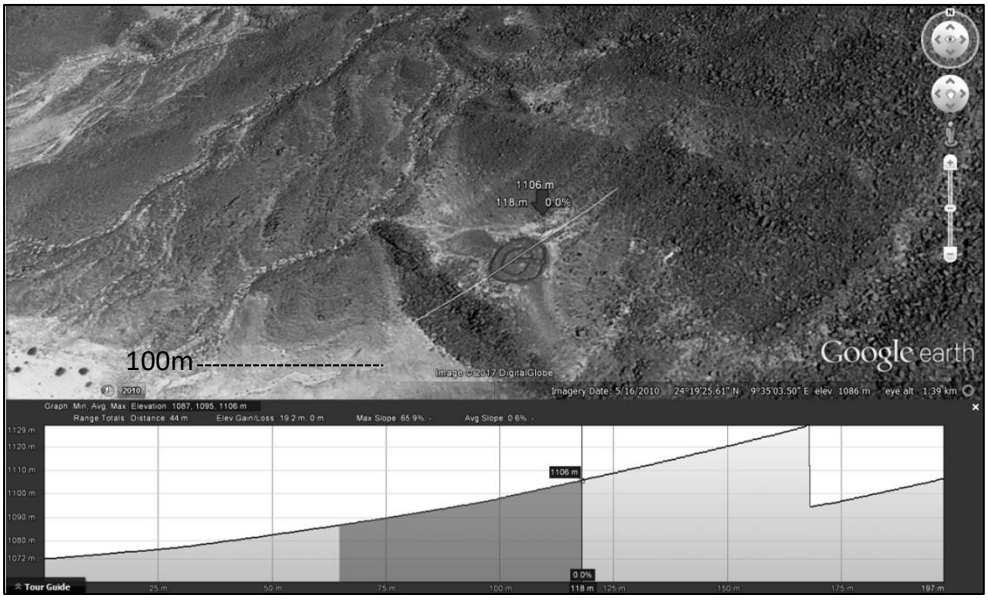


Fig.3.15. Graph showing the 43.6% or 23.5° incline, darker area, on which a keyhole monument in Djanet (Algeria, 24°19'24.27"N 9°35'3.78"E) was built, made using Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, 5/16/2010.

Fig.3.16. A keyhole monument constructed up a steep slope at Tin Abdallah (Algeria), Reygasse (1950), 53, Fig.59.

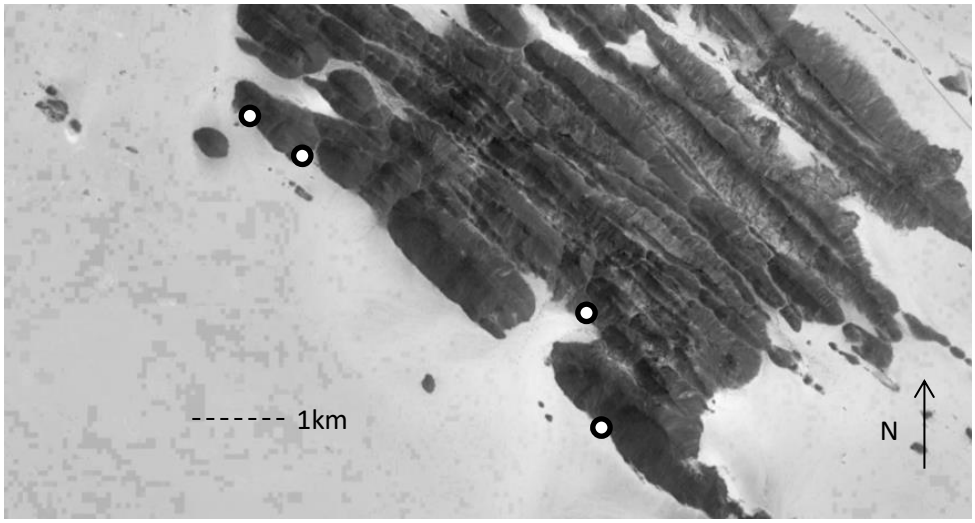


Fig.3.17. Keyhole monuments (dots) lining the lower parts of ridges along easily traversable terrain (Djanet, Algeria, 24°19'32.81"N 9°33'44.31"E), made using Google Earth, DigitalGlobe, 5/16/2010.

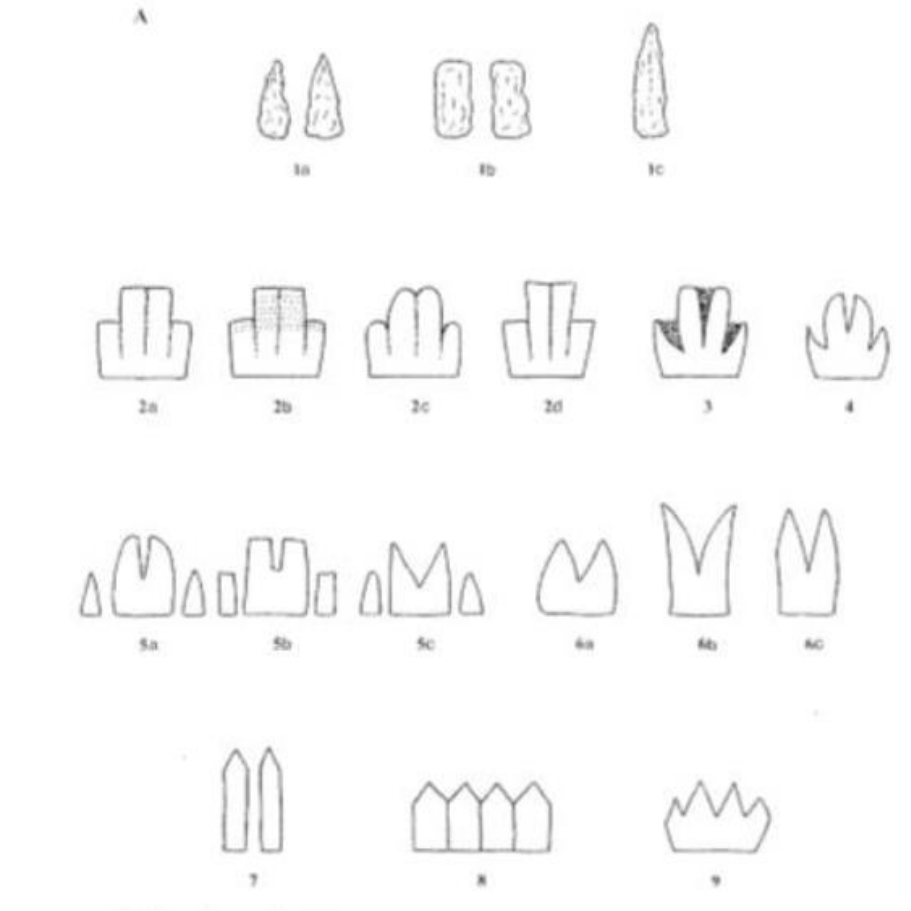


Fig.3.18. Garamantian stele typology from Fezzan (Libya), Mattingly (2007), 148, Fig.6.7. Not to scale.

Fig.3.19. Steles from Doukkala -Abda, Morocco, Denis (1967), 165, Pl. IV n°84; 166, Pl.Va n°85. Not to scale.

Fig.3.20. Reliefs from the Chemtou quarry showing a rider (above) and robed figures, possibly deities (below) (Chemtou, Tunisia), Kraus (1993), Pl.69 n°66; Pl.85.b. Not to scale.

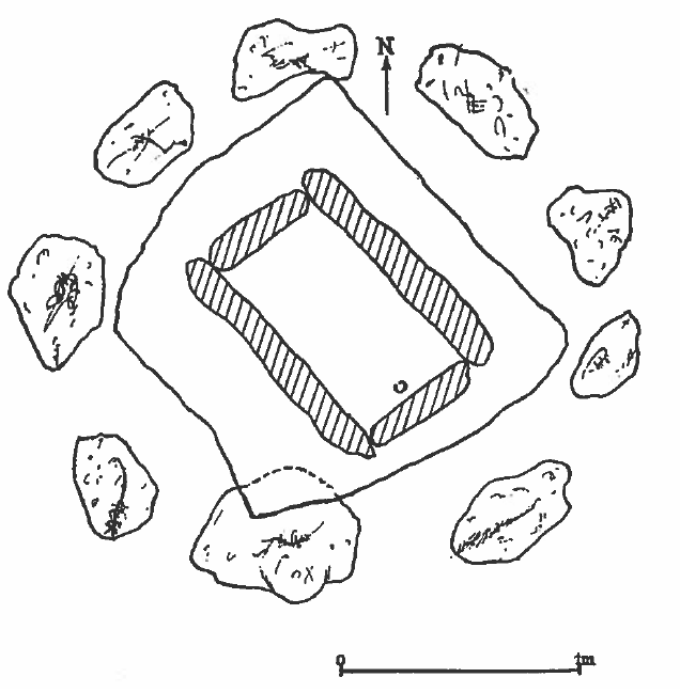


Fig.3.21. Stone circle around Dolmen XVI at Bou Nouara (Algeria) incorporated into the construction of the tomb, Camps and Camps-Fabrer 1964), 33, Fig.23.

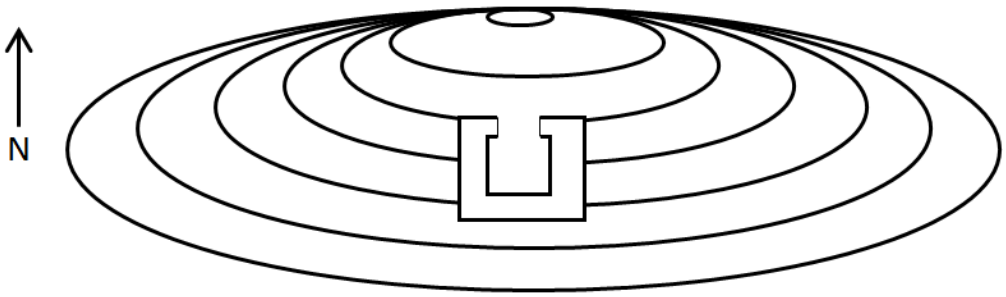


Fig. 3.22. A schematic of the Dougga tower tomb with its northern, uphill orientation.

Not to scale.

Fig.3.23. The Dougga tower tomb (Dougga, Tunisia) is highly visible from the plain to the south, photo by author (May 2018).

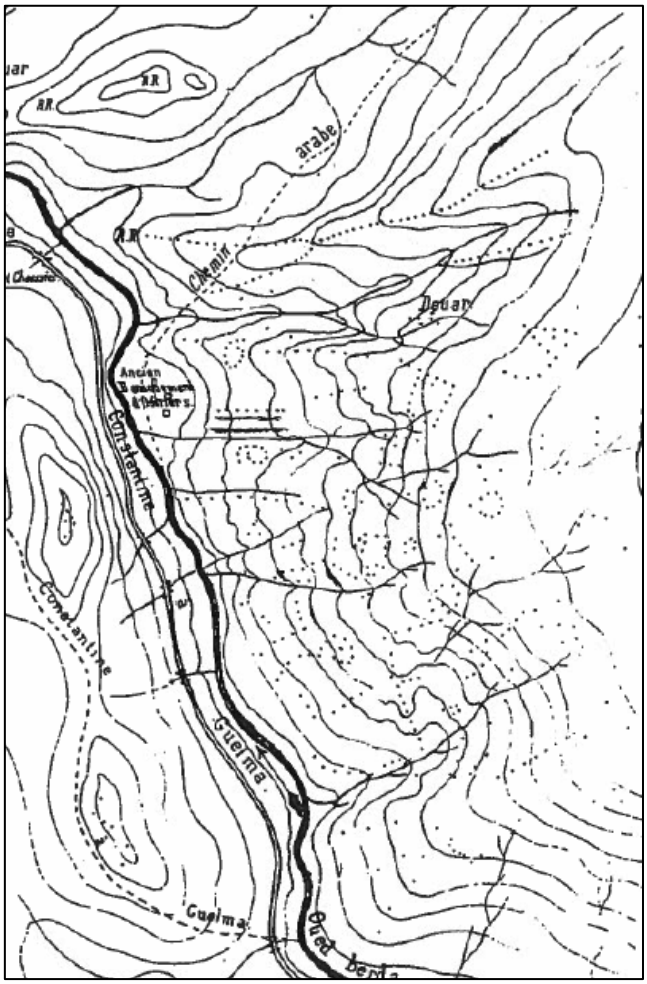


Fig.3.24. The Bou Nouara necropolis (black dots) on the slopes of Djebel Mazel (Algeria) as drawn by General Faidherbe in 1868, adapted from Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 9, Fig.2. 1:15000.

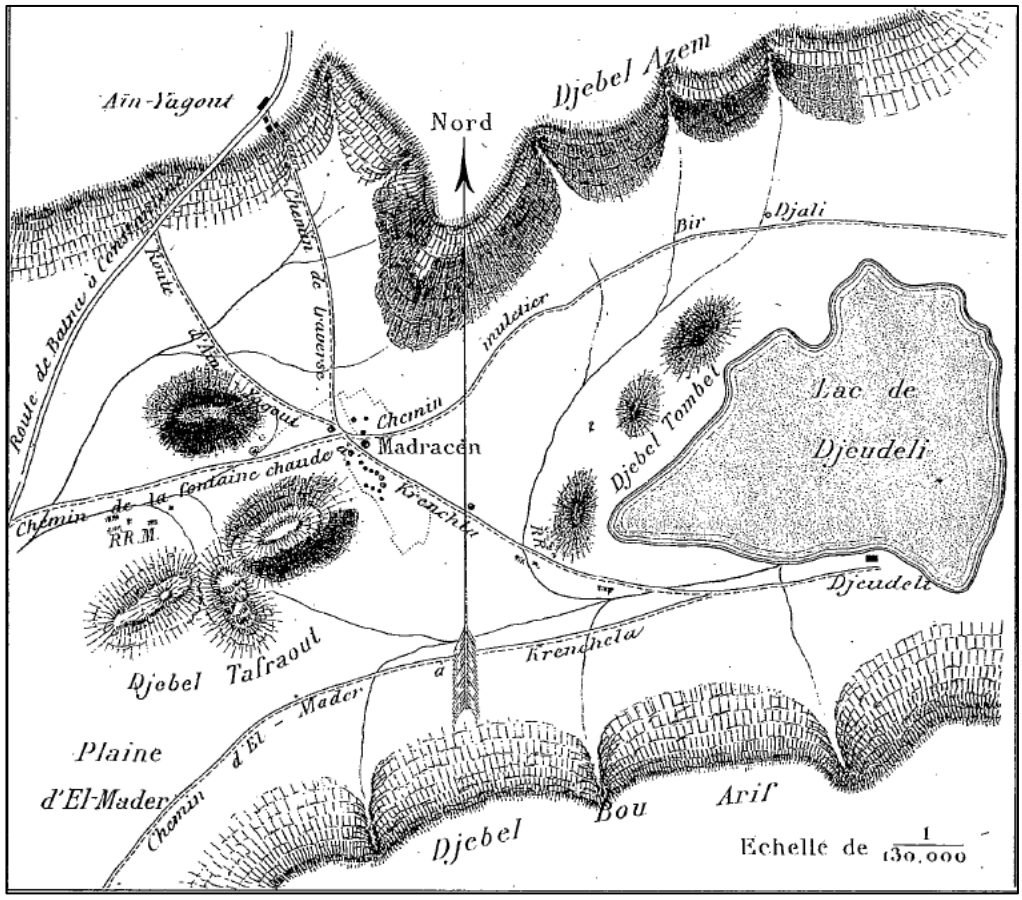


Fig.3.25. Map of the surrounds of the Medracen showing the location of smaller megalithic tombs (black dots) (Boumia, Algeria), Brunon (1874), Plate III.

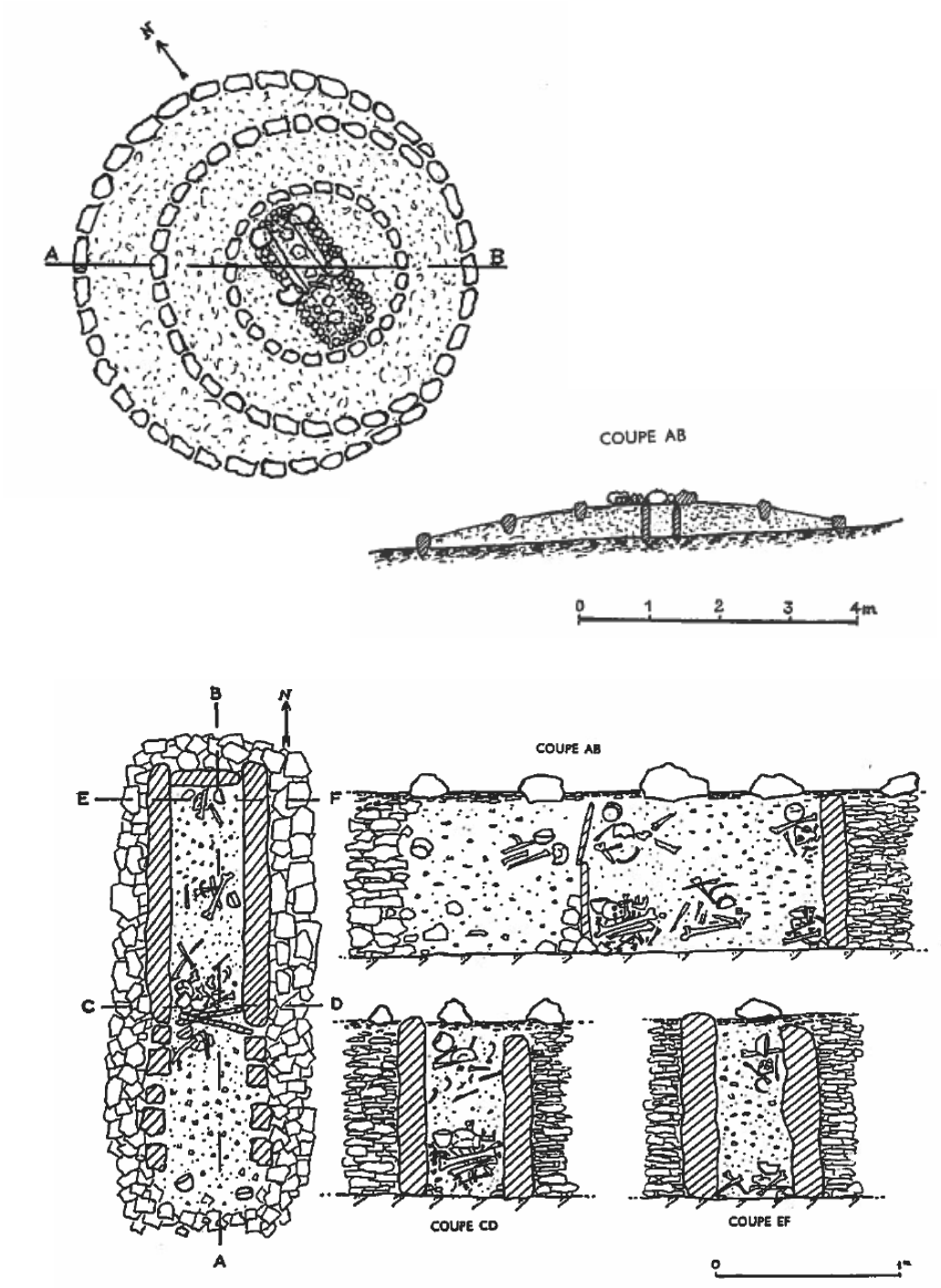


Fig.3.26. A bazina at Bou Nouara (Algeria) with 5 inhumations and aligned stones, adapted from Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964), 41, Fig.35; 42, Fig.36.

Fig.3.27. A dolmen at Djebel Gorra (Tunisia) with standing stones on three sides, marked with arrows, photo by author (May 2018).

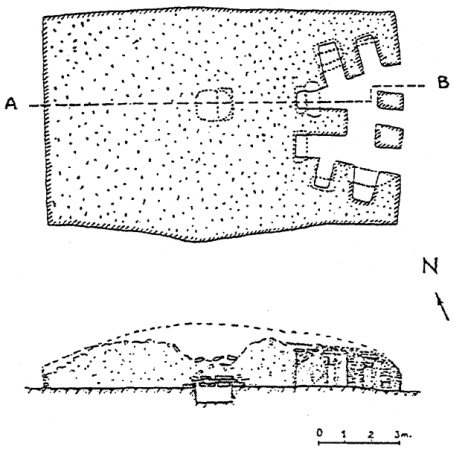


Fig.3.28. Cross-sections showing the relatively small chambers within the much larger chapel tomb (Taouz, Morocco), adapted from Camps (1986), 153, Fig.2.

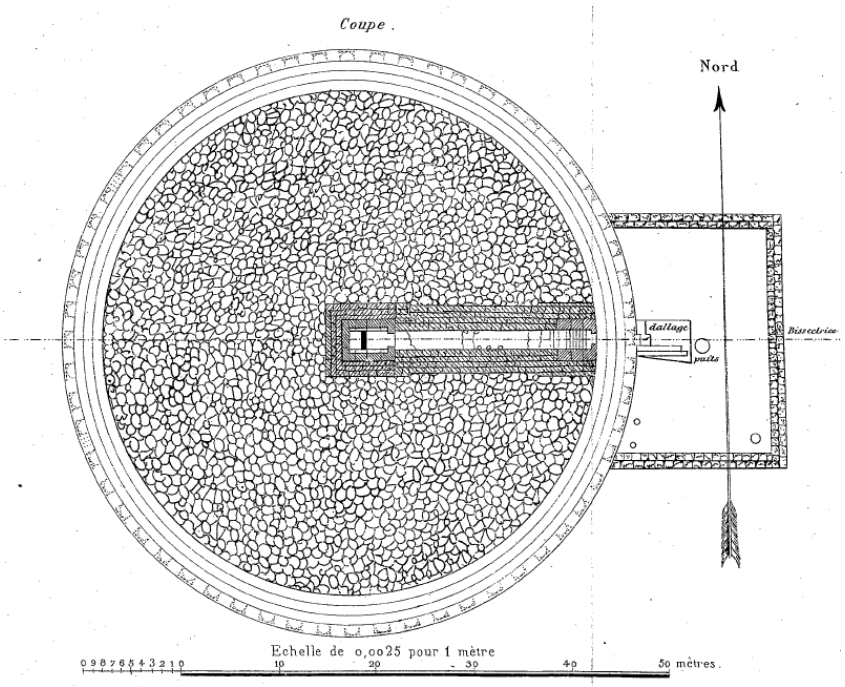


Fig.3.29. Drawing of the Medracen from above showing the platform and the four pits located at the eastern side, Brunon (1874), Plate VI.biz.

Fig.3.30. Three dolmens facing each other in the Roknia necropolis (Algeria), photo by author (October 2017).

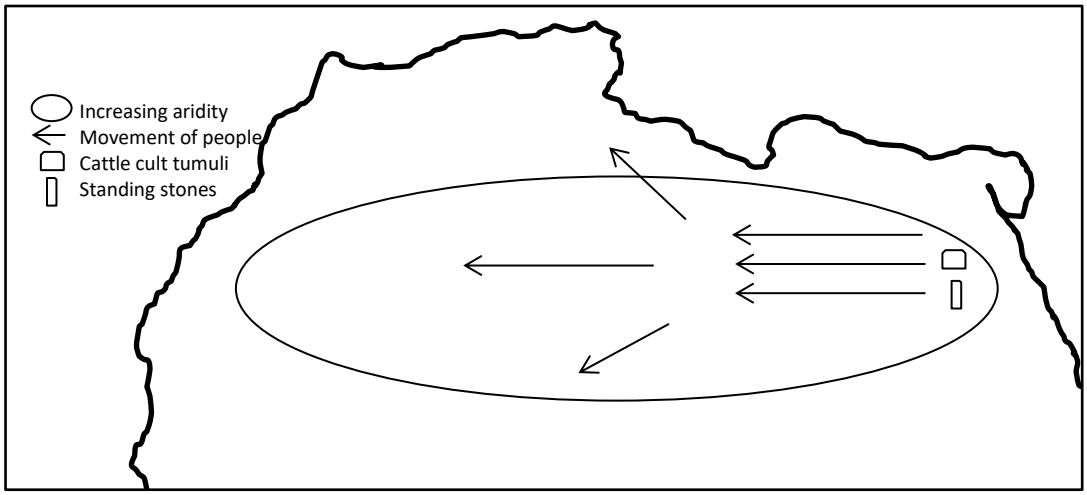


Fig.4.1. Simplified map of hypothetical movement of people and ideas across the Sahara c.5th – 4th millennium BCE. Not to scale.

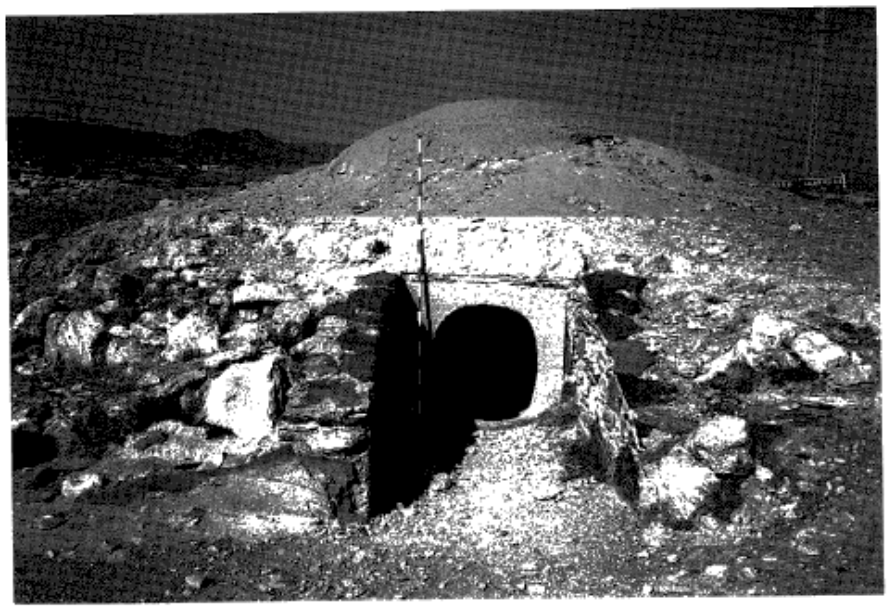


Fig.4.2. A reconstructed *tholos* tomb at Las Milllares (Iberia), Hoskin et al (1995), 30, Fig.1.

Fig.4.3. Two talayots, one in the foreground, the other to the back, at Capocorb (Mallorca), Aramburu-Zabala and Belmonte (2002), 67, Fig.1.

Fig.4.4. The taulas of Sa Torreta and Torraiba, and the naveta of Es Tudons (Balearic Islands), adapted from Hoskin (2001), 38 – 39, 170.

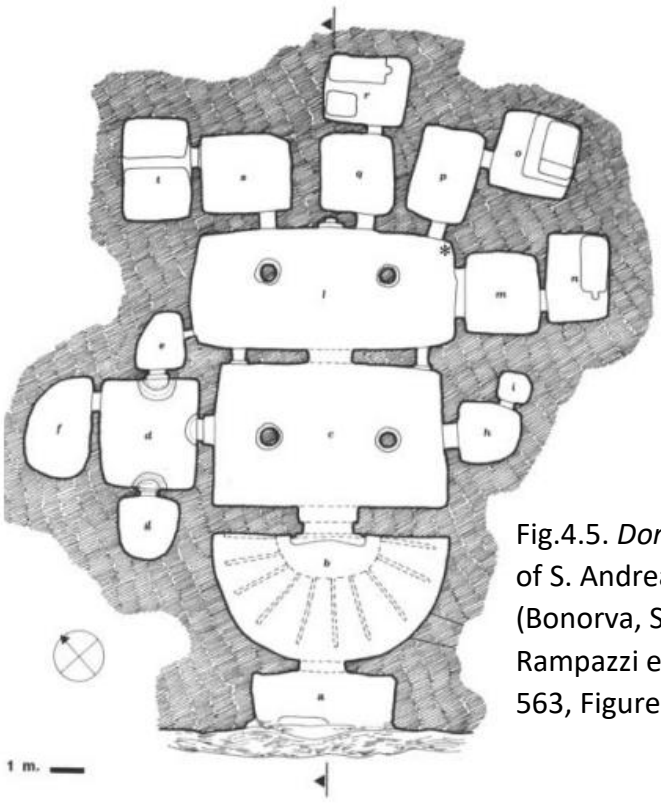


Fig.4.5. *Domus de janas* of S. Andrea Priu (Bonorva, Sardinia), Rampazzi et al. (2007), 563, Figure 2.

Fig.4.6. One of the numerous nuraghi on Sardinia, Hoskin (2001), 184.

Fig.4.7. The *tombe di giganti* of Thomes (Dorgali, Sardinia) and Selene (Lanusei, Sardinia), adapted from Hoskin (2001), 186 – 187.

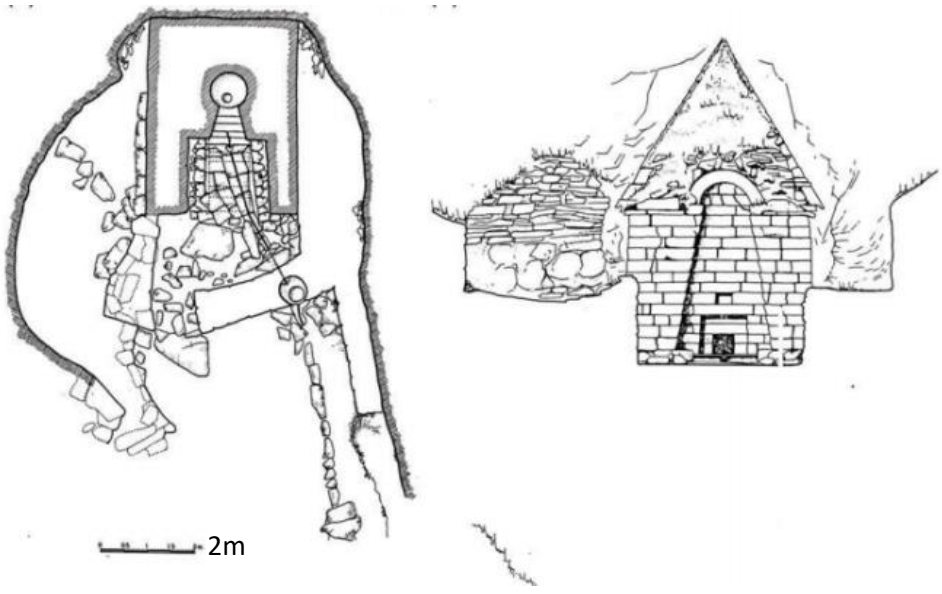


Fig.4.8. Plan and elevation of the Su Tempiesu water temple at Orune (Sardinia), adapted from Depalmas (2018).

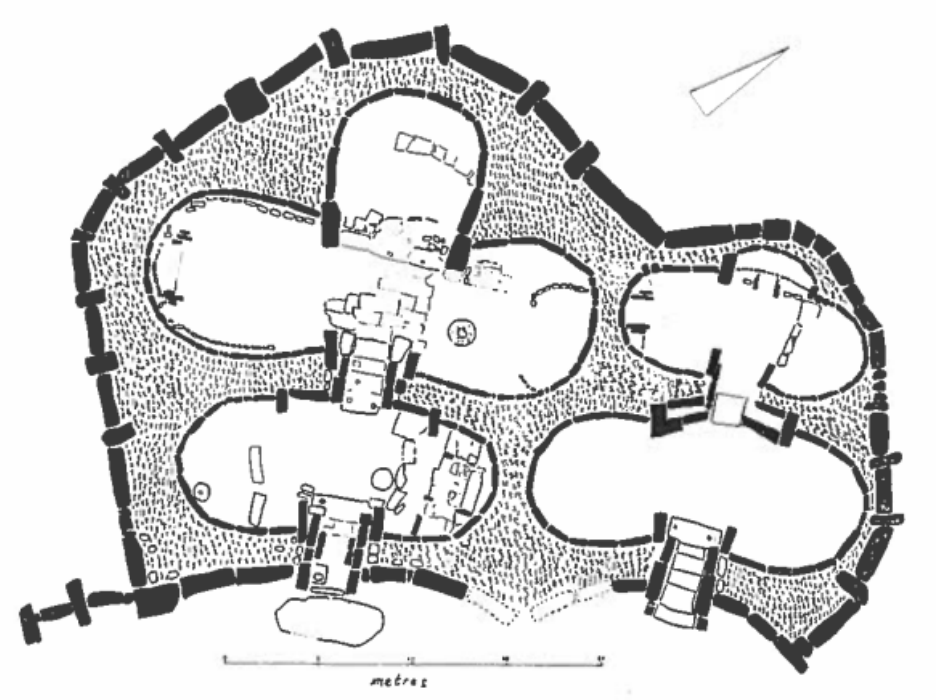


Fig.4.9. The combined temples of Ggantija I (left) and II (right) on Gozo, Hoskin (2001), 24.

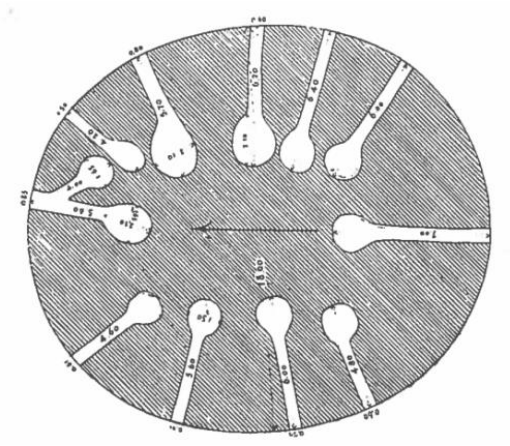


Fig.4.10. One of the more than 50 sesi on Pantelleria with the plan of Sese Grande, adapted from Hoskin (2001), 200 – 201.

Fig.4.11. Eye-idol (Los Millares, Iberia), adapted from Altamirano García (2014), 54, Plate 6. Not to scale.

Fig.4.12. *Bronzetti* from Nuragic Sardinia, adapted from Ialongo (2013), 202, Figure 8. Not to scale.

Fig.4.13. The Sleeping Lady figurine (Ħal Saflieni, Malta), Sagona (2015), 99, Figure.3.18, no.1. Not to scale.

Gazetteer 1: Table showing the relevant sites in northern Africa. Study method denotes how the original examination of the site occurred. Locations provided are approximate and do not necessarily indicate an exact location, simply the general area within which the site is found. A select bibliography is provided for further information.

Site	Category	Study method	Date	Dating method	Approximate location		Select bibliography
Althiburos	Possible peak monument	Excavation	3rd-2nd C BCE	Architecture	35,944722	8,8325	Kallala and Sanmartí (2011)
Ain Sefra	Tumulus	Excavation	From 4th C BCE	Archietcture	32,757493	-0,58528	Camps (1961)
Areschima	Choucha-Bazina	Excavation	2nd M BCE	Radiocarbon	18,150639	9,8821	Roset (1977)
Barkat	Various megalithic necropoleis	Excavation	Garamantian Period	Radiocarbon	24,884586	10,184886	Mori (2013)
Batna	Ambulatory Tumulus	Excavation	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	35,706094	6,433411	Brunon (1874)
Ben Yasla	Haouanet necropolis	Survey	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	37,053947	9,352976	Belmonte et al. (1998)
Beni Rhenane	Tower tomb	Excavation	3rd-2nd C BCE	Architecture	35,258437	-1,437092	Vuillemot (1964)
Besseriani	Chapel tumulus	Excavation	From 5th C BCE	Architecture, material culture	34,408078	7,559064	Camps (1986)
Bou Chen	Dolmen necropolis	Excavation	From 4th C BCE	Architecture, material culture	36,161013	6,797982	Camps (1961)
Bou Nouara	Dolmen necropolis	Excavation	From 5th C BCE	Architecture, material culture	36,216423	6,816195	Camps and Camps-Fabrer (1964)
Bouia	Tumulus necropolis	Excavation limited	From 5th C BCE	Architecture	31,453431	-4,366677	Margat and Camus (1958), Camps (1961)
Bouar	Tazunu	Excavation	c. 900 BCE	Radiocarbon	5,941916	15,598668	David (1982)
Bulla Regia	Dolmen necropolis	Excavation	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	36,557928	8,754473	Camps (1995b)

Chemtou	Peak monunent	Excavation, Survey	Mid-2nd C BCE	Architecture	36,491631	8,575061	Rakob (1979).
Djanet	Keyhole monuments	Survey	3rd-2nd M BCE	Architecture	24,555698	9,48588	Reygasse (1950), Di Lernia (2013)
Djebel Goraa	Dolmen necropolis	Excavation, Survey	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	36,4729	9,145569	Camps (1961)
Djebel Meimel	Bazina	Survey	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	36,105542	6,528185	Camps (1973)
Djebel Merah	Tumulus	Survey	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	36,145194	6,610839	Camps (1961)
Djebel Recheiga	Stone circle with concentric rings	Survey	From 4th BCE	Archietcture	35,361347	1,985502	Camps (1961)
Djorf Torba	Chapel tumulus	Excavation	From 5th C BCE	Architecture, material culture	31,487078	-2,774603	Camps (1986)
Dougga	Tower tomb	Excavation	Late 3rd C BCE	Architecture, material culture	36,422925	9,218808	Poinssot (1983)
Dougga	Dolmen necropolis	Excavation	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	36,422925	9,218808	Camps (1961)
El Guetma	Haouanet necropolis	Excavation, Survey	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	37,136467	9,501728	Longerstay (1986)
El Harouri	Haouanet necropolis	Excavation, Survey	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	36,854453	11,03402	Ghaki (1987)
El Mries	Dolmen necropolis	Excavation	From 4th C BCE	Architecture, material culture	35,71143	-5,939292	Jodin (1964)
Elles	Evolved megalithic tomb necropolis	Excavation	From 5th C BCE	Architecture, material culture	35,948709	9,097089	Miniaoui (2008)
Erfoud	Tumulus	Excavation	From 4th C BCE	Archietcture	31,454249	-4,248569	Camps (1961)
Es Soumaa	Tower tomb	Excavation	Late 2nd C BCE	Architecture, material culture	36,272127	6,725133	Bonnell (1916), Horn and Rüger (1979)
Fedj el Koucha	Chapel tumulus	Excavation	From 5th C BCE	Architecture, material culture	34,4015	7,67435	Camps (1986)
Fewet Oasis	Various megalithic necropoleis	Excavation	Garamantian Period	Radiocarbon	24,958214	10,088853	Mori (2013)

Foum el Rjam	Tumulus	Excavation	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	29,870517	-5,575758	Camps (1998)
Frenda	Djedar tombs	Excavation	Late Antiquity	Architecture, material culture	35,062518	1,056164	Camps (1995a)
Gastel	Various megalithic necropoleis	Excavation	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	35,570377	8,179711	Camps (1995b)
Germa	Various megalithic necropoleis	Excavation	Garamantian Period	Radiocarbon	26,544725	13,063311	Mattingly et al. (2013a)
Ghat	Various megalithic necropoleis	Excavation	Garamantian Period	Radiocarbon	24,964444	10,178056	Mori (2013)
Gigthis	Haouanet necropolis	Excavation	From 4th C BCE	Architecture, material culture	33,537897	10,672897	Ben Tahar (2004)
Guelaat	Evolved megalithic tomb	Excavation	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	36,23627	7,549664	Camps (1961)
Hadd Hajar	Clausurae	Survey	Roman Period	Architeture	31,831006	12,779217	Brogan (1980)
Henchir Bourgou	Tower tomb	Excavation	3rd-2nd C BCE	Architecture	33,819892	10,970006	Ferchiou (2009)
Henchir Djaouf	Turiform tomb	Survey	2nd C BCE	Architecture	36,408942	10,139514	Quinn (2003)
Henchir el Assel	Dolmen and tumuli necropolis	Excavation, Survey	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	36,134153	10,375045	Camps (1961)
Hoggar	Standing stones	Survey	Neolithic Period	Architecure	23,290262	5,536386	Reygasse (1950), Fattovich (1987)
Kalaat es Snam	Dolmenic-haouanet	Excavation, Survey	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	35,762775	8,340559	Deyrolle (1909b)
Kbor er Roumia	Monumental tumulus	Excavation	2nd-1st C BCE	Architecture	36,574967	2,552808	Bouchenaki (1979)
Kbor Klib	Peak monunent	Excavation	Mid-2nd C BCE	Architecture	36,012581	9,218733	Ferchiou (1991)
Kef el Agab	Cave	Excavation	Neolithic Period	Material culture	36,527931	8,783347	Roubet (2005)

Kef Smaar	Periodic market	Excavation	Pre-Roman to Modern	Material culture	35,36109	1,322605	Shaw (1989)
Kifan Bel Ghomari	Cave	Excavation	Neolithic Period	Material culture	34,657881	-3,911942	Roubet and Hachi (2005)
Machrasfa	Evolved megalithic tomb	Excavation	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	35,38498	1,055444	Camps (1961)
Mahdia	Haouanet	Survey	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	35,502495	11,045104	Fantar (1988)
Menerville	Djedar-like mausoleum	Excavation, Survey	Christian Period	Architecture	36,723163	3,619404	Gsell (1898)
Maktar	Evolved megalithic tomb necropolis	Excavation	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	35,852956	9,203744	Camps (1961)
Messak Settafet	Various necropoleis	Excavation	From 3000 BCE	Radiocarbon	25,75	11,833333	Di Lernia and Manzi (2002)
Mzora	Monumental mound	Excavation	From 4th C BCE	Architecure, ancient text	35,403522	-5,950661	Stone (2016), Plutarch, *Sert.* 9.3-5
Ouisert (Ouizert)	Stone circle with cist grave	Excavation	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	35,102982	-0,008385	Camps (1961)
Ras el Ain Bou Merzoug	Dolmen	Excavation	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	36,16947	6,603517	Camps (1961)
Roknia	Dolmen necropolis	Excavation, Survey	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	36,514503	7,214511	Camps (1961), (1995b)
Sabratha B	Tower tomb	Excavation	2nd C BCE	Stratigraphy, material culture	32,792222	12,484177	Rakob (1979), Martínez (2008)
Sidi Allal el Bahraoui	Monumental mound	Excavation	From 4th C BCE	Architecture, material culture	33,983	-6,417	Stone (2016)
Sidi Mhamed Latrech	Haouanet necropolis	Excavation, Survey	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	36,475672	10,511492	Ghaki (1999)
Sidi Mosbah	Haouanet	Survey	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	36,741962	10,240569	Miniaoui (2008)

Sidi Slimane	House-like tomb in tumulus	Excavation	4th-2nd C BCE	Material culture	34,262812	-5,929933	Ruhlmann (1939), Arharbi (2009)
Sigus	Dolmen necropolis	Excavation	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	35,265878	-1,449936	Camps (1961)
Sila	Bazina with V shaped arms	Excavation	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	36,123928	6,680858	Camps (1961)
Sila	Cave	Excavation	Neolithic Period	Material culture	36,123928	6,680858	Camps (1961)
Souk el Gour	Bazina	Excavation	From 4th C BCE	Radiocarbon, Architecture	33,850278	-5,308839	Jodin (1967), Camps (1999)
Tamanrasset	Keyhole monuments	Survey	3rd-2nd M BCE	Architecture	22,822505	5,503253	Reygasse (1950), Di Lernia (2013)
Taouz	Chapel tumulus	Excavation	From 5th C BCE	Architecture, material culture	30,909919	-4,039911	Camps (1986)
Taza	Cave	Excavation	Neolithic Period	Material culture	34,208247	-4,018225	Camps (1961)
The Medracen	Monumental tumulus	Excavation	4th-2nd C BCE	Radiocarbon	35,707144	6,43454	Camps (1973)
Thiggiba Bure	Rock-cut necropolis	Excavation, Survey	From 4th C BCE	Architecture, material culture	36,475525	9,081658	Ben Younes-Krandel (1992-1993)
Tiaret	Djedar tombs	Excavation	Late Antiquity	Architecture, material culture	35,367347	1,322023	Camps (1995a)
Tiddis	Bazina	Excavation	From 4th C BCE	Architecure	36,462961	6,483539	Joussaume (1988)
Uzali Sar (Henchir Djal)	Turiform tomb	Survey	2nd C BCE	Architecture	36,811582	9,688235	Quinn (2003), Fentress (2006)
Wadi Ouerk	Dolmen necropolis	Survey	From 4th C BCE	Architecture	35,284888	2,2289	Camps (1961)
Wadi Skiffa	Clausurae	Survey	Roman Period	Architecture	33,036514	10,153761	Mattingly and Jones (1986)
Wadi Tanezzuft	Various megalithic necropoleis	Excavation	From 4th M BCE	Radiocarbon	25,8501	10,316769	Di Lernia and Manzi (2002a)

Gazetteer 2: Table showing the relevant keyhole monuments and tumulus tombs in the Tamanrasset province and near Djanet in eastern Algeria. The site names given here have been created for this thesis. For further information see Reygasse (1950), Di Lernia (2013), and Sparavigna (2014).

Name	Category	Isolated/Clustered	Location		Description	Setting
Djn01	Keyhole	Isolated	24,30819	9,586636	keyhole tomb with SE facing passage	Base of hill
Djn02	Keyhole	Isolated	24,323328	9,584411	keyhole tomb passages to E up hill	Base of hill
Djn03	Keyhole	Isolated	24,342757	9,544347	keyhole with E facing passage	Base of hill
Djn04	Keyhole	Isolated	24,348062	9,537027	keyhole tomb with SE facing passage	Base of hill
Djn05	Tumulus	Isolated	24,368947	9,500895	Tumulus	Base of hill
Djn06	Tumulus	Paired with Djn7	24,363985	9,48262	Paired tumulus	Terrace
Djn07	Keyhole	Paired with Djn6	24,364007	9,48142	keyhole with E facing passage	Terrace
Djn08	Tumulus	Isolated	24,404492	9,522033	tumulus at ridge	Base of ridge
Djn09	Tumulus?	Isolated	24,398435	9,449672	possible tumulus	Between outcrops
Djn10	Tumulus	Isolated	24,405174	9,456511	tumulus	Between outcrops
Djn11	Tumulus?	Isolated	24,40026	9,459189	possible tumulus	Between outcrops
Djn12	Tumulus?	Isolated	24,401806	9,459677	possible tumulus	Between outcrops
Djn14	Tumulus	Isolated	24,437956	9,505925	tumulus	Foot of ridge
Djn15	Keyhole	Isolated	24,44346	9,57545	keyhole tomb with SE facing passage	Terrace?

Djn16	Keyhole	Isolated	24,403317	9,619114	keyhole tomb with SE facing passage	Foot of ridge
Djn17	Keyhole	Clustered with Djn18,Djn19	24,373514	9,671917	keyhole tomb passages to E up hill	Foot of ridge
Djn18	Keyhole	Clustered with Djn17,Djn19	24,372351	9,672798	keyhole tomb passages to E up hill	Foot of ridge
Djn19	Tumulus?	Clustered with Djn17,Djn18	24,372614	9,672881	Possible tumulus	Foot of ridge
Djn20	Tumulus	Paired with Djn21	24,362293	9,708453	paired tumulus	Terrace
Djn21	Tumulus?	Paired with Djn20	24,362278	9,708903	possible tumulus	Terrace
Djn23	Keyhole	Isolated	24,298564	9,754405	keyhole tomb with SE facing passage	slope of hill
Djn24	Tumulus	Isolated	24,283894	9,816388	tumulus on ridge	slope of ridge
Djn25	Tumulus	Isolated	24,280965	9,823203	tumulus on ridge	slope of ridge
Djn26	Tumulus	Paired with Djn27	24,459497	9,510672	tumulus in middle of stone circle, semi-circle / less preserved stone circle on NW side of tumulus inside larger circle	S slope of ridge
Djn27	Keyhole	Paired with Djn26	24,460247	9,509225	keyhole with passage facing SE	S slope of ridge
Djn28	Keyhole	Isolated	24,501674	9,472322	keyhole with passage facing E	drift between two ridges

Djn29	Tumulus	Isolated	24,4962	9,475986	tumulus in middle of stone circle, semi-circle / less preserved stone circle on NW side of tumulus inside larger circle	drift between two ridges
Djn30	Tumulus	Isolated	24,470903	9,491111	tumulus in middle of stone circle, semi-circle / less preserved stone circle on NW side of tumulus inside larger circle	a dip in the middle of a ridge
Djn31	Keyhole	Isolated	24,47822	9,48277	keyhole tomb with SE facing passage	on rocky outcrop
Djn32	Indistinct	Isolated	24,465037	9,496159	indistinct structure	bottom of E facing slope of ridge
Tmr01	Keyhole	Isolated	25,015364	7,177303	keyhole tomb with SE facing passage	3/4 surrounded by rocky outcrop, SE foot of slope, near wadi
Tmr02	Tumulus?	Isolated	25,030636	7,571497	tumulus with stone circle	on SE slope of gentle hill, visible from wadi below?
Tmr03	Keyhole	isolated	24,849092	8,960406	keyhole with SE facing passage	on S slope of steep hill, visible from wadi below?
Tmr04	Keyhole	Isolated	24,852456	8,952669	keyhole with SE facing passage	on S slope of steep hill, visible from wadi below?
Tmr05	Tumulus?	Isolated	24,974292	8,505808	tumulus with stone circle	on W slope of steep hill
Tmr06	Keyhole	Isolated	25,011783	8,502822	keyhole with E facing passage	on Eastern slope of narrow wadi

Tmr07	Keyhole	Isolated	25,000922	8,366567	keyhole with E facing passage	southern bank of wadi
Tmr08	Keyhole	Isolated	25,035881	8,410711	keyhole with SE facing passage	western bank of wadi
Tmr09	Keyhole	Clustered	24,662333	8,016547	clustered with 2 other keyhole tombs	north end of rocky outcrop
Tmr10	Tumulus	Clustered	24,660267	8,0158	tumulus with 3/4 enclosure clustered with other tombs, small tumulus at open end at E?	north end of rocky outcrop
Tmr11	Tumulus	Clustered	24,661914	8,015714	tumulus with 3/4 enclosure clustered with other tombs, small tumulus at open end at E?	north end of rocky outcrop
Tmr12	Keyhole	Clustered	24,662631	8,015781	keyhole with E facing passage, clustered with others	north end of rocky outcrop
Tmr13	Keyhole	Isolated	24,809689	7,959617	keyhole with E facing passage	3/4 surrounded by rocky outcrop, middle of plain
Tmr14	Tumulus?	Isolated	24,812339	7,958092	tumulus tomb? Near Tmr13	western side of rocky outcrop
Tmr15	Keyhole	Isolated	24,703569	8,040742	keyhole passage facing SE	western egde of long rocky ridge
Tmr16	Tumulus?	Isolated	24,711561	8,039181	tumulus with stone circle	western egde of long rocky ridge, north of Tmr15

Tmr17	Tumulus?	clustered	24,769844	8,062847	tumulus with stone circle	north western edge of long ridge, next to wadi
Tmr18	Keyhole	clustered	24,771294	8,065594	very large keyhole complex with 4 tumuli (?)	north western edge of long ridge, next to wadi
Tmr19	Keyhole	clustered	24,779925	8,063206	smaller keyhole, E facing passage	north western edge of ridge on gentle wadi slope
Tmr20	Keyhole	clustered	24,781325	8,066797	keyhole clustered with others	north western edge of ridge on gentle wadi slope
Tmr21	Keyhole	Clustered	24,780617	8,066467	keyhole clustered with others	north western edge of ridge on gentle wadi slope
Tmr22	Keyhole	Clustered	24,779969	8,066208	smaller keyhole clustered with others	north western edge of ridge on gentle wadi slope
Tmr23	Tumulus	Clustered	24,783264	8,072931	tumulus in stone circle	north western edge of ridge on gentle wadi slope
Tmr24	Keyhole	Isolated	24,843567	9,069475	keyhole tomb with E facing passage	north eastern edge of gravel patch
Tmr25	Keyhole	Clustered	24,845272	9,056825	keyhole with SE facing passage grouped with other tombs	north western edge of plain
Tmr26	Keyhole	clustered	24,844289	9,054986	keyhole with SE facing passage grouped with other tombs	north western edge of plain
Tmr27	Horseshoe	Clustered	24,844428	9,054222	horseshoe ritual space double stone line open to NE, two tumuli (?) at ends of branches	northern edge of plain, on summit of low rocky hill, coupled with keyhole tomb

Tmr28	Horseshoe	Clustered	24,845533	9,055711	horseshoe formation, possible ritual space? Or tumulus that has been dug open? Gravel stones	north western edge of plain
Tmr29	Tumulus?	Clustered	24,846167	9,057214	smaller pile of stone, possible tumulus, depression at summit, disturbed/robbed?	north western edge of plain
Tmr30	Keyhole	Isolated	24,843947	9,058114	smaller keyhole tomb, passage facing SE	opposite previous cluster, visible?
Tmr31	Tumulus?	Isolated	24,838267	9,044772	tumulus with stone circle, second tumulus to the S?	northern edge of plain, southern slope of steep ridge, in gravel terrace
Tmr32	Tumulus?	Isolated	24,878492	8,950033	possible tumulus with enceinte?	southern slope of rocky hill, in shallow saddle
Tmr33	Keyhole	Coupled	24,877706	8,933008	keyhole with passage facing SE, coupled with Tmr34	southern slope of small rocky hill
Tmr34	Keyhole	Coupled	24,879686	8,934617	keyhole with passage facing E, coupled with Tmr33	northern slope of small rocky hill
Tmr35	Keyhole	Isolated	24,902958	8,953494	keyhole with passage facing SE	southern side of summit of steep rocky ridge
Tmr36	Keyhole	Isolated	24,90135	8,950208	keyhole with passage facing SE although this is up an incline	northern slope of small hill

Tmr37	Keyhole	Coupled	24,907864	8,955694	keyhole with passage facing E although this is up an incline, coupled with Tmr38	northern slope foot of rocky ridge above wadi
Tmr38	Tumulus	Coupled	24,908275	8,956233	tumulus with stone circle, coupled with Tmr37	northern slope of rocky ridge above wadi
Tmr39	Tumulus	Isolated	24,863331	8,032544	tumulus in stone circle	towards summit above wadi to the W
Tmr40	Keyhole	Coupled	24,857628	8,027747	keyhole with passage facing E although this is up an incline, coupled with Tmr41	on gentle slope above wadi to W
Tmr41	Keyhole?	Coupled	24,85755	8,030833	keyhole with faded passage facing E? coupled with Tmr40	on gentle slope above wadi to E
Tmr42	Keyhole	Clustered	24,86005	8,021572	keyhole with passage facing E, clustered with other tombs	slope above wadi to W
Tmr43	Keyhole	Clustered	24,859422	8,023464	keyhole with passage facing SE, clustered with other tombs	on slope above wadi to SW
Tmr43	Tumulus	Clustered	24,859636	8,024367	tumulus in enceinte	on summit between 2 wadis
Tmr44	Tumulus?	Clustered	24,859383	8,024456	possible smaller tumulus S of Tmr43	on slope between 2 wadis
Tmr45	Tumulus	Clustered	24,860122	8,024628	tumulus in stone circle	on summit between 2 wadis

Tmr46	Keyhole	Clustered	24,860431	8,025908	keyhole with passage facing E, small tumulus at E end of passage	on summit above wadi
Tmr47	Keyhole	Clustered	24,858217	8,022153	keyhole with passage facing SE	on slope above wadi to E
Tmr48	Tumulus	Clustered	24,857667	8,021064	tumulus in stone circle, or faded keyhole with passage facing E?	on slope above wadi to E
Tmr49	Keyhole	Clustered	24,858514	8,019994	keyhole with passage facing SE	on summit above wadi to E
Tmr50	Tumulus?	Clustered	24,857603	8,022672	possible tumulus in stone circle	on slope above wadi to E
Tmr51	Tumulus	Coupled	25,034617	7,583064	tumulus in enceinte	on slope above wadi to N, second wadi to S, coupled with Tmr52
Tmr52	Tumulus	Coupled	25,033969	7,582453	tumulus in enceinte	on slope above wadi to N, second wadi to S, coupled with Tmr51
Tmr53	Keyhole	Isolated	24,809694	7,959606	keyhole with passage facing E	3/4 surrounded by rocky outcrop in plain
Tmr54	Keyhole	Coupled	24,660917	8,009606	keyhole with passage facing SE, tumulus at S end of passage, coupled with Tmr55	N end of rocky ridge in plain, next to small wadi
Tmr55	Tumulus	Coupled	24,661278	8,008889	2 tumuli in lobe-like stone circle facing SE	N end of rocky ridge, coupled with Tmr54
Tmr56	Tumulus	Clustered	24,654875	8,006269	3 tumuli in stone circle?	W side of steep rocky slope

Tmr57	Keyhole	Clustered	24,661278	8,008889	keyhole with passage facing E although up an incline, small tumulus at E end of passage	up slope of W edge of rocky hill, near wadi
Tmr58	Tumulus	Clustered	24,650747	8,009728	tumulus is stone circle	up slope of W edge of rocky hill, near wadi
Tmr59	Tumulus	Clustered	24,650772	8,009886	tumulus outside of Tmr58's stone circle	up slope of W edge of rocky hill, near wadi
Tmr60	Tumulus	Clustered	24,650842	8,010306	tumulus near to Tmr58 and 59	up slope of W edge of rocky hill, near wadi
Tmr61	Tumulus	Clustered	24,659794	8,008492	tumulus in cluster along ridge	up slope of W edge of rocky hill
Tmr62	Tumulus	Clustered	24,660031	8,008236	tumulus in cluster along ridge	up slope of W edge of rocky hill
Tmr63	Tumulus	Clustered	24,659117	8,008225	tumulus in cluster along ridge	up slope of W edge of rocky hill
Tmr64	Tumulus	Clustered	24,659742	8,008581	tumulus in cluster along ridge	up slope of W edge of rocky hill
Tmr65	Tumulus	Clustered	24,658686	8,00865	tumulus in cluster along ridge	up slope of W edge of rocky hill
Tmr66	Tumulus	Clustered	24,659031	8,007864	tumulus in cluster along ridge	up slope of W edge of rocky hill
Tmr67	Tumulus	Clustered	24,659142	8,007942	tumulus in cluster along ridge	up slope of W edge of rocky hill
Tmr68	Tumulus	Clustered	24,658392	8,007944	tumulus in cluster along ridge	up slope of W edge of rocky hill
Tmr69	Tumulus	Clustered	24,658058	8,007542	tumulus in cluster along ridge	up slope of W edge of rocky hill

Tmr70	Tumulus	Clustered	24,659392	8,006925	tumulus in stone circle in cluster along ridge	below slope of NW edge of rocky ridge above plain
Tmr71	Tumulus	Clustered	24,657083	8,007028	tumulus in cluster along ridge	below slope of NW edge of rocky ridge above plain
Tmr72	Tumulus	Clustered	24,657947	8,007314	tumulus in cluster along ridge	below slope of NW edge of rocky ridge above plain
Tmr73	Tumulus	Clustered	24,656636	8,006658	tumulus in cluster along ridge	below slope of NW edge of rocky ridge above plain
Tmr74	Tumulus	Clustered	24,656283	8,006667	tumulus in cluster along ridge	below slope of NW edge of rocky ridge above plain
Tmr75	Tumulus	Clustered	24,655853	8,006403	tumulus in cluster along ridge	below slope of NW edge of rocky ridge above plain
Tmr76	Tumulus	Clustered	24,655806	8,006303	tumulus in cluster along ridge	below slope of NW edge of rocky ridge above plain
Tmr77	Tumulus	Clustered	24,655808	8,006303	tumulus in cluster along ridge	below slope of NW edge of rocky ridge above plain
Tmr78	Tumulus	Clustered	24,655433	8,006219	larger tumulus among smaller tumuli	below slope of W edge of rocky ridge above plain
Tmr79	Tumulus	Clustered	24,655367	8,006217	smaller tumulus with other tumuli around larger tumulus	below slope of W edge of rocky ridge above plain
Tmr80	Tumulus	Clustered	24,655464	8,006308	smaller tumulus with other tumuli around larger tumulus	below slope of W edge of rocky ridge above plain
Tmr81	Tumulus	Clustered	24,655478	8,006111	smaller tumulus with other tumuli around larger tumulus	below slope of W edge of rocky ridge above plain

Tmr82	Tumulus	Clustered	24,655403	8,006053	smaller tumulus with other tumuli around larger tumulus	below slope of W edge of rocky ridge above plain
Tmr83	Tumulus	Clustered	24,654981	8,006294	smaller tumulus with other tumuli around larger tumulus	up slope of W edge of rocky ridge above plain
Tmr84	Tumulus	Clustered	24,654881	8,00635	smaller tumulus with other tumuli around larger tumulus	up slope of W edge of rocky ridge above plain
Tmr85	Tumulus	Clustered	24,654831	8,006422	smaller tumulus with other tumuli around larger tumulus	up slope of W edge of rocky ridge above plain
Tmr86	Tumulus?	Clustered	24,654058	8,005797	possible tumulus	on gentle slope on W edge of rocky ridge above plain
Tmr87	Tumulus?	Clustered	24,653808	8,006528	possible tumulus	on gentle slope on W edge of rocky ridge above plain
Tmr88	Tumulus?	Clustered	24,653717	8,006442	possible tumulus	on gentle slope on W edge of rocky ridge above plain
Tmr89	Tumulus?	Clustered	24,653433	8,006181	possible tumulus	on gentle slope on W edge of rocky ridge above plain
Tmr90	Tumulus?	Clustered	24,654561	8,006764	possible tumulus	on gentle slope on W edge of rocky ridge above plain
Tmr91	Tumulus	Isolated	24,644811	8,00965	tumulus in stone circle with second smaller tumulus to the NE	SE foot of steep rocky hill

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